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# HINDU ICONOGRAPHY

by JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

## II

### VHŪHAS AND VIBHAVAS OF VIṢṆU\*

Vāmana, the fifth Avatāra of Viṣṇu, unlike the last one, has a distinct Vedic basis. It has already been shown that the principal attributive epithet of Viṣṇu was at the root of the later developed mythology about his birth as a dwarf Brahmācārin, the eighth son of Kāśyapa and Aditi. In this form he persuaded Pralhāda's grandson Bali to grant him three steps ; with the first of these steps he attacked the heavens, with the second, the universe, and with the last, he sent Bali to the nether regions. After recovering the heaven and the world from the Asuras in this way, he presented them to the gods. The 'Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa' recounts a story about the fight between the Devas and Asuras in which Viṣṇu, the dwarf among the gods, was instrumental in recovering the earth from the latter. The Asuras condescended to give the gods only that part of the earth which would be occupied by Viṣṇu lying down ; they thought that they would have to lose little because of his small size. But as Viṣṇu was identical with the sacrifice, he covered up the whole of the earth with his body, and the Asuras according to the agreement had to part with it. The elaborate Purāṇic mythology about the Dwarf incarnation was directly evolved out of this much earlier myth ('Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa' I. 2, 5, 1ff). Attention has already been drawn by me to the Junagadh inscription of the time of Skandagupta, where reference is made to it. Although the 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā' chapter on 'Pratimālakṣaṇam' does not contain any description of the above five incarnations, there is a reference to the image of Bali ; it is laid down there that Bali, son of Virocana, should measure 120 'aṅgulas' in height ( 'Baliśca Vairocaniḥ śataṃ viṃśam'—v. 30 ). It seems that separate

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\* Continued from JISOA, Vol. XIII, p. 129.

images of Bali were made and as he was a devout 'bhakta' of Hari, there was no inconsistency in the injunction about the making of his image, even though he was an Asura.

Sculptures representing Vāmana Avatāra fall under two categories—one in which the god is simply shown as a dwarf Brahmachārin with an umbrella and a staff in his hands, and the other in which he appears in the further developed form of Trivikrama with one leg planted firmly on the ground and the other bent upwards and measuring as it were the heavens. In the second group of reliefs, the scene of the grant of the three steps shows the miniature figures of the principal actors, Viṣṇu as the dwarf, Bali in the act of granting the land asked for, his queen and his preceptor Śukrācārya just below the uplifted leg of the Virāṭarūpa of Viṣṇu. It should be observed that the former mode is comparatively rare, the latter being common. D. R. Bhandarkar while writing about the 'Temples of Osia', which range between 8th or 9th century A. D. and 13th century A. D. and which are mostly Vaiṣṇava, remarks that 'Vāmana in no temple there figured as a single dwarf with an umbrella, but is always represented as his further development of Trivikrama'.<sup>1</sup> One of the earliest extant reliefs of the Trivikrama form of Viṣṇu is that found on the right or western wall of cave No. II at Badami; the central part of the bas-relief can be divided into two sections; the one in the lower right corner just beneath the raised leg of Trivikrama shows the god in his dwarf form with an umbrella in his left hand receiving the grant from Bali; Bali pouring water from a water vessel held in both the hands; just behind him stands his wife Vindhyābalī and behind the two are four well-dressed standing figures who represent the royal demons assembled at the time of the sacrifice. The other section contains the figure of Trivikrama who practically covers the rest of the available space, there being only a few accessories, two near his right leg and some near his stretched hand and

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1. 'A. S. I. A. R.', 1908-09, P. 116. Bhandarkar's remarks about the Avatāras figured in these temples of Jodhpur State, Rajputana, are worth noting: 'Curiously enough not a single temple is extant at Osia where the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu are sculptured on the door sides or any part of the temple as we find them in Sirpur ( Central Provinces ) and other ancient sites. Some of the incarnations, viz. Varāha, Narasiṃha, Trivikrama, Kṛṣṇa-Balarāma and Buddha are carved on the outside walls of the shrine or the terraces'.

leg ; the god adorned with usual ornaments, is endowed with eight hands, his right ones holding a sword, an arrow, a mace and a wheel, and the left, a bow, a shield and a conch-shell, the front left being stretched out parallel to the extended leg and showing the 'tarjjanī' pose ; a figure with the royal crown on his head is clasping the firmly planted leg of Trivikrama, described by T. A. G. Rao as that of Namuchi ( it may as well stand for Bali himse'f beseeching his object of devotion to be gracious to him ), the other standing figure with sword in hand and about to attack the god typifies the attacking host of the Asuras when they found out the ruse. Of the three or four figures appearing on the top and centre right section of the bas-relief two deserve special mention : one is a grinning face and the other a human figure cutting a somersault in the air. The latter, as suggested by T. A. G. Rao, may represent one of the demons who were hurled up in the air as if by a hurricane when the god grew to be gigantic in size ; this is mentioned in the 'Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa'. Rao had been at pains to explain the true significance of the grinning face figure which not only appears in this relief but also in the others depicting the same subject in Cave No. IV at Badami, in the Ellora Daśavatāra cave and in some mediaeval temples of different parts of India. He first suggested that this might be due to the two variant readings of a line of the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' passage describing this incarnation ; the particular line runs, 'Ekordhvavadanaḥ kārya devo visphāritekṣaṇaḥ', where 'ekordhva' sometimes reads 'ekordha'. The line with 'ekordhva' would mean that 'the god's face with wide open eyes should be slightly tilted up wards', while that with 'ekordha', 'a god with a half face and wide open eyes will have to be carved'. Those sculptors who followed the first reading showed the slight tilt upwards on the head of the central figure, and the others that carved the ill-looking face near the uplifted leg might have followed the second one. But Rao, himself, was not satisfied with this ingenious explanation of his and suggested that it might as well stand for the burst Brahmāṇḍa ( Universe ), for we know from the 'Varāha Purāṇa' that as soon as the leg of Trivikrama reached heavenwards, the Brahmāṇḍa burst and the cosmic waters began to flow (T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.', vol. I, pp. 167-68). But the explanation of this grinning face as suggested by R. D.

Banerjee is correct; he rightly pointed out that the Purāṇic account of the incarnation refers to the presence of many Daityas, on that occasion with Rāhu among them. Rāhu is invariably represented in the Navagraha slabs as a demoniacal head, sometimes with a part of torso attached to it, and those Trivikrama reliefs which contain this grinning face illustrate the presence of Rāhu among the Daityas as mentioned in the Purāṇas; but it is curious that even when other Daityas are conspicuous by their absence in the scene (e. g. in the Rajim stone sculpture reproduced by Rao in pl. XLVIII of the vol. I of his book), the grinning face is present by the side of the uplifted leg. The 'Matsya Purāṇa' passage to be noticed shortly shows that Banerjee is correct in his suggestion. The two small flying figures above represent Sūrya and Candra who are more clearly recognisable in similar reliefs in Cave No. IV at Badami and at Mahabalipuram. At the foot of the panel are five or six pot-bellied dwarfish figures (similar to the Gaṇas in Śivite reliefs), probably representing celestial musicians, playing on various musical instruments; it is expressly laid down in the Purāṇas that when Viṣṇu recovered the Universe from the Asuras there was great rejoicing among the gods.<sup>2</sup> The notable Pallava sculpture 'about eight feet by six feet in size carved on the north wall of the rock-cut shrine situated to the south of what is called Gaṇeśa Ratha at Mahabalipuram' depicts the same scene. The composition resembles the earlier Badami reliefs in some respects, but the differences between the two also are many. We do not find the side scene of the granting of the three steps; on the top right and left corners of the panel are carved four-armed Brahmā and Śiva respectively,

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2. R. D. Banerjee, 'Bas-reliefs of Badami', 'M. A. S. I.', No. 25, PP. 17-19, pl. IX (a); T. A. G. Rao describes the same relief in full in pages 172-74 of his book, vol. I (pl. L.). The other huge bas-relief illustrating the theme carved on right or west end of the platform in cave No. IV at Badami shows little difference in its composition from the above; the depiction of the water-vessel carrying figure like Gautama Buddha by the side of the dwarf is intentional according to Banerjee who says 'it may contain a hidden reference to the extinction of the Buddhist faith on account of a revival of Vaiṣṇavism' (but the reasoning which led him to offer this remark is not clear); 'ibid', PP. 31-2, pl. XVI (a) and (b); in the plate, the relief is said to belong to Cave No. III.

the former offering 'pujā' to the leg of Trivikrama raised here to the level of the god's forehead; Sūrya and Candra are shown hovering in the sky on either side of him near the middle of the relief; the bear-faced Jāmbavān in a flying pose plays on a drum to the right of the head of the god; there are four figures seated on either side of his well-planted leg probably representing Bali and his Daitya chiefs; the figure cutting somersault is present, but the uncouth face figure is absent; the main figure is eight-armed, the attributes held being similar to the Badami reliefs.<sup>1</sup> The Trivikrama panel in the Daśavatāra Cave at Ellora, datable in the 8th century A. D., is very similar to the Badami reliefs; in the scene of the granting of the three steps below the uplifted leg, a person is shown holding Bali with his two hands; another person is being chastised or bound up by Garuḍa near the right leg of Trivikrama (T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.', Vol. I. pp. 174-5, Pl. LI). The Badami and Ellora reliefs can be partially explained with the help of the 'Matsya-purāṇa' passage which can be translated thus :—'I shall now speak of Trivikrama about to attack the Universe; Rāhu ('Bāhu' in the texts—the correct word should be 'Rāhu') should be carved by the side of the leg (raised) above and sad-faced Vāmana with a watervessel and an umbrella in his hands, below it; by his side should be shown Bali with a watervessel in his hand and Garuḍa should be depicted as about to bound up Bali' (the person holding Bali with two hands below the uplifted leg, then may be identified as Garuḍa about to bind up the demon king; in the Ellora relief, the act is further emphasised on the left side

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1. T. A. G. Rao, 'op.cit.', Vol. I, PP 170-73, Pl. XLIX. Havell, though wrong about the significance of the relief (he describes it as Viṣṇu supporting the universe, the figures seated at his feet as four munis or genii, the guardians of his paradise Vaikunṭha, and the bear-faced figure on the right of Viṣṇu as Varāha-Avatāra) has rightly observed about the execution of the panel, 'Artists of every school will recognise the splendid vigour and imaginative power with which the unknown sculptor has carved this striking composition on the face of the living granite rock. The bold generalisation of execution is quite free from the overelaboration from which later Indian sculpture sometimes suffers'; 'The Ideals of Indian Art', PP. 152-55, Pl XX.

of the panel)<sup>1</sup>. In some of the later Trivikrama reliefs, the definite sectarian bias already present in the Ellora panel noticed above, is more apparent, though this has Purāṇic texts for its authority. The Nagalapuram stone relief reproduced by Rao in Plate LII (fig. 2) of his book, shows the raised feet of the god being washed by Brahmā, and the water pouring in torrents on the head of Śiva seated on Kailāsa. Rao says that the image of Trivikrama may be sculptured in three different ways, with the left foot raised up to the level (1) of the right knee, (2) of the navel, or (3) of the forehead. All three modes are found among the numerous sculptures found in different parts of India. The north and east Indian specimens generally show this deity as four-armed and though the arrangement of the accessory figures slightly differs from the modes noticed above, the central deity is depicted in more or less the same attitude. In one specimen from Bihar, now in the Indian Museum collection, the figure of a horse tied to a stake is carved on the pedestal; the artist has emphasised here the occasion (of the Aśvamedha sacrifice) when the grant of the three steps was made (Rao, 'op. cit.', Vol. I, Pl. LII, fig. 1). Separate sculptures showing only the dwarfish figure of Viṣṇu are extremely rare; in the Daśāvatāra slabs, however, it is this form that is common, the Trivikrama scene rarely appearing along with the other incarnations. The beautifully carved four-armed figure of Vāmana, found in Sitapur district, U. P., and now in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, is thus of unique iconographic interest. The sculpture shows the dwarf god partially in the round, standing in the 'samapādasthānaka' pose on a lotus placed on a 'triratha' pedestal; his back right and left hands carry 'gadā' and 'cakra' respectively.

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1. 'Matsyapurāṇa', ch. 260, verses 36-8: 'Tathā Trivikramaṃ vakṣye Brahmāṇḍākra-  
maṇolvanam | Pādapārśve tathā bā (should be 'Rā') humuṣaṣṭāt prakalpayet | Adhastād-Vāmanaṃ  
tadvat kalpayet sakamaṇḍalum | Dakṣiṇe chatrikāṃ dadyānmukhaṃ dīnaṃ prakalpayet | Bhṛṅgā-  
dhāriṇaṃ tadvad-Baliṃ tasya ca pārśvataḥ | Bandhanañcāsya kurvantaṃ Garuḍaṃ tasya darśayet'.  
According to this text, the Buddhalike figure in the cave No. IV relief at Badami is Bali, and the  
intentional representation of the Daitya king as a Buddha (not the Buddha himself) may be  
said to be based on the Purāṇic account that Viṣṇu incarnated himself as Buddha and deluded the  
asuras with false doctrines.

the front right with the lotusmark in the palm is shown in the 'varada' pose, and the front left, now broken, must have carried the 'śaṅkha'; he is endowed with an elaborate lotus halo, the usual ornaments and 'vanamālā'; the garland bearing Vidyādharaś are shown flying amidst the conventional background of clouds on the top corners of the 'prabhā', while on its bottom right and left corners are carved three figures on each side, one each being seated with its hands in the 'añjali' pose, while two are standing in graceful poses; of these standing attendants one only on the proper right is female, all the others being male; they may stand for the Āyudhapuruṣas, the female being the Gadādevī and the other three, the Śaṅkha, Cakra and Padmapuruṣas; the seated figures, one of which is very much mutilated, may represent the donor couple. The sculpture is well conceived, the dwarfish childlike appearance of the god has a faint smile playing on his lips and the slender and elegant figures of the attendants testify to the ability of the artist who must have flourished in the late Gupta period. The Purapara specimen of the same motif, compares unfavourably with the above; it also shows the deity as four-armed with the usual attributes in his hands, but the two female attendants on either side are Śrī and Puṣṭi as they appear in the north and east Indian Sthānaka mūrtis of Viṣṇu. The sculpture, however, is a fairly well-carved specimen of the mediaeval period.<sup>1</sup>

I have already drawn attention to the 'Matsyapurāṇa' passage describing the Vāmana-Trivikrama incarnation of Viṣṇu, which seems to explain some Badami and Ellora reliefs. Various other texts, the Purāṇic and Āgamic ones as well as those contained in the late compilations, lay down details about the two types noticed above. The 'Agnipurāṇa' describes two varieties of the Vāmana form, one two-armed holding 'chatra' and 'daṇḍa,' and the other four-armed (ch.49, v.5—Chatrī daṇḍī Vāmanaḥ syādathavā syāccaturbhujah'); evidently the former variety was meant for use in the composite Trivikrama reliefs

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1. Dacca History of Bengal, Vol. I, P. 437, Pl. III, fig. 10.



and the latter as in the Lucknow and Dacca Museum specimens for being used as the principal cult-deity. The 'Viṣṇudharmottara', in a few successive verses, describes both these types ;—the first of the two should be shown as a student Brahmacārin stoutish in appearance holding a staff and wearing black antelope skin while the second depicted as blowing on the conch and holding a staff, a noose and the usual attributes shown in their normal shapes ( not personified ), and Śeṣa should be shown as usual, and a god's face with wide open eyes should be made (near the raised leg).<sup>1</sup> Sculptures corresponding in all the details to the two types described in the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' are not known to me. The elaborate description of Trivikrama given in the 'Vaikhāṇsāgama' refers to the three positions of his raised leg already mentioned ; it lays down that the leg raised parallel to the knee indicates the god occupying the earth, when it is up to the height of the navel the occupation of the atmospheric region is meant, and its position parallel to the forehead means the occupation of the heavenly regions. This particular text refers to both the eight-armed and four-armed varieties of the god ; in the former, the right hands carry 'cakra,' 'śaṅkha,' 'gadā,' 'śārṅga' ( bow ) and 'hala' ( perhaps this is a mistake; for 5 emblems are mentioned in 4 right hands while nothing is said about the left hands ); in the latter variety the right hands should hold a 'cakra' while the left should be shown holding a śaṅkha, 'vara' or 'abhaya' ( here also, the description is not quite correct ); it mentions further details, such as the placing of 'Kalpadruma' and 'Indrachatra' (Indradhvaja) on its both sides, the presence of chaurie-bearing Javana ( Vāyu ) and Jaleśa ( Varuṇa ), Sanaka and Sanatkumāra, etc., which are absent in most or all of the extant reliefs known to me. But such injunctions as depicting Śiva's taking on his head the water used by Brahmā in the act of washing the upraised leg of Trivikrama, Garuḍa striking the Rākṣasa Namuchi with his fists, Jāmbavān playing on a drum etc., are followed in some

1. 'Viṣṇudharmottara', BK. III, ch. 85, Verses 53-7: 'Kartavyo Vāmano devaḥ saṅkatairgūṭraparvabhiḥ | Pīṇagūṭraśca kartavyo daṇḍī cādhyayanodyataḥ | Dūrvāśjāmaśca kartavyaḥ kṛṣṇājinadharatathā | Sajalāmbudasaṅkāśastathā kāryastrivikramaḥ | Daṇḍapāśadharāḥ kāryaḥ śaṅkha-saṅgumbitādharāḥ | Śaṅkhacakraḡadāpadmāḥ kāryāstasya savrūpīṇaḥ | Nṛdebāste na kartavyā Śeṣaṁ kāryaṁ tu pūrvavat | Ekordhavadanaḥ kāryo devo visphāritekṣaṇaḥ |

of the extant reliefs; the Mahābalipuram illustration of this episode follows to a great extent the 'Vaikhānasāgama' text. This authority also lays down that the 'kautuka bera' of Trivikrama should be none other than the figure of a four-armed Viṣṇu.<sup>1</sup> The same text describes Vāmana as 'Pañcatāla' in height, youthful in appearance, two-armed, the two hands holding an umbrella and a staff, wearing a 'kaupīna', having a tuft of hair on the head ('śikhā'), a manuscript, waist girdle, sacred thread and black antelope skin, with a 'pavitra' (a 'kuśa' ring) in his hand. The 'Śilparatna' description of Vāmana is almost the same, but instead of staff he is made to hold a water-vessel, while the 'Rūpamaṇḍana' omits the 'chatra' and places 'daṇḍa' and 'kamaṇḍalu' in his hands.<sup>2</sup>

There is nothing complicated in the iconography of the sixth incarnation of Viṣṇu, Paraśurāma, or Rāma the son of Jamadagni. This is, according to the texts, not a full Avatāra but an Āveśa i. e., a temporary incarnation, in which the divinity rested in or possessed the particular body of the son of Jamadagni for a certain period. The Purāṇas tell us that the Kṣatriyas became extremely arrogant and overbearing as they belonged to the order from which the kings and princes were recruited, and Viṣṇu, in order to curb their power and punish them for their misdeeds appeared in the person of Rāma, the son of Jamadagni, and made the world devoid of Kṣatriyas for as many as twenty-one times! He even went to the length of killing his own mother, under the orders of his father the sage Jamadagni, because the latter thought that she had lost her chastity by contemplating on a king called Citraratha enjoying aquatic sports with his wife. As Rāma Jāmadagnya killed the Kṣatriyas as well as his own mother with a battle-axe which was

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1. For the full text of the 'Vaikhānasāgama' about Trivikrama refer to T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.', Vol. I, App. C, PP. 37-8.

2. 'Vaikhānasāgama': 'Atha Vāmanaṃ pañcatālamiti dvibhujam chatradaṇḍadharam kaupīnavāsasam śikhāpustakamekhalopavītakṣṇāñjinasaṃyutam pavitrapāṇim bālarūpaṃ brahmavarasvinam kārayet'. 'Śilparatna': 'Kṣṇāñjinyupavīti syācchatrī dhṛtakamaṇḍaluḥ | Kuṇḍali śikhayāyuktaḥ kubjākāro mahodarah'. 'Rūpamaṇḍana': 'Vāmanassaśikhasāyāmo daṇḍi pīno mbupātravān.'

his constant weapon, he came to be designated as Paraśurāma. He, however, had the divine nature in him so long as Rāma, the son of Daśaratha had not come into the field and established his claims to it. The 'Rāmāyaṇa' and some of the Purāṇas recount the story that when Dāśarathi Rāma was returning to Ayodhyā from the court of Janaka after breaking the bow of Hara and thus winning the hand of Sītā in the contest, he met Paraśurāma on the way, who was extremely angry over the affair. Paraśurāma haughtily accosted him and challenged him to put the string on his (Paraśurāma's) own bow which he thought was much stronger than the old time-worn one of Śiva. Rāma Dāśarathi did it with ease, and with the arrow which was shot from it he deprived Paraśurāma of his divinity. Thence forward, though Paraśurāma really ceased to be an Avatāra of Viṣṇu, the place which was assigned to him in the stereotyped list of the Daśāvatāras was never denied him. The story of Jāmadagnya Rāma typifies to a certain extent the rivalry and jealousy which must have occasionally sprung into existence between the two orders; some sectarian bias also crept in several versions of the story where Paraśurāma is made to acknowledge Śiva as his Guru.<sup>1</sup> In actual sculptures, none of which to my knowledge goes back to a period earlier than the mediaeval one, Paraśurāma is almost invariably depicted with two arms, the right hand holding a 'paraśu' (battle axe). Separate sculptures of this god are seldom found, and he usually appears as the sixth in the row of the ten incarnations depicted side by side on stone slabs. The mediaeval relief showing a separate figure of a four-armed Paraśurāma found at Ranihati, Dacca, is thus of unique iconographic interest; in the front right hand of this figure is placed a battle-axe while its remaining hands carry the three other usual attributes of Viṣṇu. While he is represented in the group of ten incarnations, he is almost invariably endowed with only two hands. The texts usually give descriptions of two-armed figures of this god; thus, the 'Vaikhānasāgma' lays down that Paraśurāma should be made of

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1. For other different mythological accounts about this incarnation, refer to T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.', Vol. I, PP. 181-86.

'madhyamadaśatāla' measurement, two-armed, pink-coloured, wearing a white cloth, and bearing a 'jaṭāmukuta', a sacred thread, and all ornaments—the right hand should hold a battle-axe while the left should be in the pointing pose ('dakṣiṇahastena paraśudharamuddeśya vāmakaram'). This text also informs us that the 'kautukabera' of this incarnatory form should be a four-armed Viṣṇu. The 'Viṣṇudharmottara' expressly lays down that Bhārgava Rāma (Rāma of the race of the sage Bhṛgu) should be wearing a 'jaṭāmaṇḍala', and a battle-axe should be placed in his hand and he should bear a black antelope skin; the 'Rūpamaṇḍana' gives a similar description. But the 'Agnipurāṇa' describes Paraśurāma with many attributes such as a bow, an arrow, sword and a battle-axe in his hands, but does not expressly tell us about their number; but the four attributes may lead one to presume that four hands are meant (ch. 49, V. 5—'Rāmaścāpeṣuhastaḥ syāt khaḍgī paraśunānvitaḥ'). The 'Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra' refers to both four-armed and two-armed Paraśurāma; in the right hands of the former variety should be shown a battle-axe and a sword, while the left ones should carry a bow and a shield; in the case of a two-armed image, it should hold a battle axe ('Jāmadagnyastu kurvīta jaṭāmukutaṃmaṇḍitam | Caturbbāhuṃ mahābhāgaṃ sarvvaṣṭatrāntakaṃ vibhuṃ | Dakṣiṇe paraśuṃ haste vāme dadyāttathā dhanuḥ | Khaḍgaṃ dakṣiṇahaste tu vāmahaste tu khetakam | Kuṭhārahastaṃ dvibhujaṃ kūryātvā Reṇukāsutam').

The story of the next incarnatory form of Viṣṇu is too well-known to require any recounting here. The 'Rāmāyaṇa' deals at length with the life and activities of this Indian ideal of manhood in whose character were manifest the highest filial and fraternal love, extreme devotion to duty and truthfulness, a high conception of the royal responsibility, a solicitious care for his dependants, the unflinching heroism of a Kṣatriya warrior and other manifold virtues. In the two epics, in many of the Purāṇas, and in many other literary works, the story of Rāma, the son of Daśaratha of the Ikṣvāku race tracing back its origin to the Sun god himself, his devoted brother Lakṣmaṇa, his humble and extremely faithful servant Hanumān, the abduction of his beautiful and chaste wife Sītā by Rāvaṇa the demon king of

**Laṅkā**, the great fight which he had to wage with the abductor and his Rākṣasa hoard with the aid of Sugrīva the king of the monkeys and his monkey followers, his liberation and subsequent banishment of Sītā after their return to Ayodhyā and many other episodes in the life of the great Kṣattriya chief were told at greater or lesser length. For countless generations, his history has been cherished in the minds of the untold millions of the Indians who deified him and worshipped him as their favourite hero god. It can not be definitely determined, however, at what particular date he was deified and regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The Rāma Avatāra is not alluded to in any of the Gupta inscriptions, but that alone would not suffice to say that popular belief in his Avatārhood was not existent in the early Gupta period. Many passages in the Rāmāyaṇa, especially *Adi-* and *Uttarakāṇḍas*, point to the existence of this belief, but these may be later interpolations. I have already drawn attention to Kālidāsa's mention of Rāma as Hari ('Rāmābhīdhāno Hari') in his 'Raghuvamśa' (XIII,1); in the tenth canto of the same work 'the story of the birth of Rāma is preceded by the usual appeal to Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa lying on the body of the great serpent, with Lakṣmī rubbing his feet, in the milky ocean and his promise to be born as a son of Daśaratha for the destruction of Rāvaṇa'. R. G. Bhandarkar observes 'the belief in Rāma's being an incarnation of Viṣṇu existed in all probability in the early centuries of the Christian Era'. But on account of the absence of any reference to him in Patañjali's 'Mahābhāṣya,' in any old inscriptions or even in the lexicon of Amarasimha in his scheme of Brāhmaṇic gods, he concluded that 'though he was regarded as an Avatāra, there was no cult in his honour'. After weighing certain evidences in this connection he suggests that 'the cult of Rāma must have come into existence about the eleventh century A. D.'

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1. 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems', P. 47. Bhandarkar, however, lays stress on the fact that Rāma is not mentioned among the Twenty-four forms of Viṣṇu, while two other avatāras, Nara-simha and Vāmana, are included in the list. But it may be observed, of the Avatāras the above two only who have been mythologically associated with Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu all along are alone included while those whose association with him is secondary find no place in the list. Moreover Nara-simha, as I have shown above, is especially connected with the doctrine of the Vyūhas as he typifies the Saṃkarṣaṇa aspect—possessing the ideal 'guṇa, jñāna' or knowledge.

H. C. Ray Chaudhury also says that 'there is no clear evidence of the existence of a Ramaite sect before the age of Rāmānanda' ('op. cit'. p. 174). Whatever may have been the age when the cult of Rāma was evolved there can be no doubt about R. G. Bhandarkar's suggestion that the belief in his Avatārahood was already in existence in the early centuries of the Christian era. The 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā' refers to the images of Rāma when it says that those of Rāma, son of Daśaratha, should be one hundred and twenty 'aṅgulas' in height (ch. 57, v. 30: 'Daśarathatanayo Rāmaḥ śataṃ viṃśam'). Though the Gupta inscriptions do not refer to Rāma incarnation, extant Gupta shrines contain reliefs some of which can be explained as illustrating episodes of Rāma story. The Gupta temple at Deogarh stands on a wide platform which contains continuous rows of sculptures on four sides; the corner panel of the south face shows four figures, two male and two female, which have been identified by Beglar and Cunningham as standing for Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā and Śūrpanakhā and the whole scene described as the chastisement of the Rākṣasa maiden by Lakṣmaṇa.<sup>1</sup> The identification of this scene is beyond doubt. Just by the side of this panel is another, the second panel of the south face which contains only two figures—a man and a boy. The man's figure is very much damaged, but what is left of him seems to show that he is in the act of drawing a bow; the boy is stringing a bow with his right hand, while his left hand grasps it by the middle and his left knee presses against it lower down. This scene may represent young Rāma's meeting with Paraśurāma and the latter's challenge to Rāma, the story which has already been referred to by me in connection with the Paraśurāma incarnation.<sup>2</sup> In the Daśāvatāra reliefs of the early and late mediaeval periods, Rāma is almost invariably depicted as two-armed, his hands holding bow and arrow; separate cult pictures of him are met

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1. 'A. S. R.', Vol. X, pp. 108-09. Rāma seated in 'paryāṅkāsana', with a bow in his left hand and his right one being in the 'abhaya' pose, has distinct traces of a halo behind his head showing his divine character; Sītā is standing gracefully by his side just in the middle of the panel while in the right Lakṣmaṇa grasping Śūrpanakhā by her hair is about to strike her with a short sword which he is holding in his upraised right hand.

2. Both these panels have been reproduced in 'Ostasiatische Zeitschrift', 1914,—V. A. Smith, 'Indian Sculpture of the Gupta Period', pp. 16-17, fig. 19.

with, but these are usually of later date and in them he is accompanied by Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā. The very late sculpture, fully in the round, acquired from Ganespur (Rajshahi) and now an exhibit in the V. R. Museum (No. 1526) shows Rāma standing on a low plinth supported by Hanumān, his left hand holds a bow, the right which must have held an arrow is missing below the elbow; in his right stands Lakṣmaṇa who holds a bow and arrow, while in his left is Sītā. The execution of this sculpture is indifferent and it belongs to the decadent period of Bengal plastic art.<sup>1</sup> T. A. G. Rao illustrates some bronze and stone figures of Rāma and his companions hailing from different parts of south India, all of which date later than the 12th or 13th century A. D., some of them being modern ones ('op. cit', Vol. I, pp. 192-95, pls. LIV-LVII). Rao says that the image of Rāma should never have more than two arms and I know of no images of this man-god where he is endowed with more. But some texts seem to describe his four-armed image. The 'Agnipurāṇa' says that Rāma should hold a bow, an arrow, a sword and a conchshell or he may be shown as two-armed (ch.49, v. 5—'Rāmaścāpī śarī khaḍgī śaṅkhī vā dvibhujassmṛtaḥ'). The 'Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra', however, expressly tells us that Dāśarathi Rāma should be endowed with four arms and be of seven 'tālas' in measurement (the earlier text Bṛhatsamhitā says that he should measure 120 'aṅgulas', which is 'madhyamadaśatāla' according to iconographic texts), his four hands should hold from lower right onwards—an arrow, a wheel, a conchshell and a bow; when Rāma is depicted two-armed, his hands should carry a bow and arrow.<sup>2</sup> The 'Viṣṇudharmottara' does neither refer to the number of hands, nor the attributes to be placed in them; it simply informs us that Dāśarathi Rāma should be endowed with royal features, so also Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna, but they should not wear the 'mauli' here, the royal 'kirita'.<sup>3</sup>

1. Annual Report of the V. R. Society for 1934-35, pp. 16-17, fig. 4.

2. 'Haribhaktivilāsa', 18 :—Kuryād-Dāśarathim Rāmaṃ saptaśatālaṃ caturbhujam | Śarākārmukhaśaṣṭam tu śaṅkhacakraḍḍharam śubham | Dakṣiṇordham bhavacakram vāmordham śaṅkhameva ca | Dakṣiṇādho bhavedvāyo vāmādhodhanureva ca | Dvibhujam śarabhaṣṭam vā Rāmaṃ kuryāt sakārmukam'. The 'Agnipurāṇa' version differs slightly from this for it puts a sword in place of a wheel, otherwise it seems to be a summary of the Hayaśīrṣa text.

3. BK. III, Ch. 85, vv. 62-3 : Rāmo Dāśarathih kāryo rājalakṣaṇalakṣitaḥ | Bharato Lakṣmaṇaścaiva Śatrughnaśca mahāyasaḥ | Tathaiva sarve kartavyaḥ kiṃtu maulivivarjitaḥ'.

The 'Vaikhānasāgama' text elaborately describes the images of Rāma and his brothers as well as his consort Sītā and lays down that the shrine of Rāma should be built in the south-eastern corner of a Vaiṣṇava temple ( for the text and its translation, refer to T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.,' Vol. I, App. C., PP. 40-43, and Vol. I, pp. 189-92 ).

The eighth in the list of the ten incarnations is Baladeva, differently known as Balabhadra, Balarāma and Saṃkarṣaṇa. It has already been pointed out that Saṃkarṣaṇa, the elder brother of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, was one of the principal Vyūhas of the god and one of the five Vṛṣṇi heroes ( Pañcavīras ) whose images are referred to in the Mora inscription of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Sodasa. Reference also has been made by me to the fact that he is described in some of the Purāṇic texts as an incarnatory form of Ananta or Śeṣa Nāga, his iconographic representations emphasising this snake connection ; in fact in the list of the 39 incarnations furnished by the 'Aḥirbudhnya Saṃhitā,' Ananta is mentioned in place of Balarāma. The mythology about Balarāma is intimately associated with that about Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, who very rarely occupies his elder brother's place or the place of the next incarnation Buddha in the stereotyped list of the ten incarnations. Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa is a case of real Avatāra, for the very simple reason that the god came to live among men for the placing of righteousness on a sounder footing and for the removal of impiety and unrighteousness ; the iconographic texts also sometimes refer to Kṛṣṇa as an Avatāra, e. g., in the 'Matsyapurāṇa' ( ch. 258, v. 10 ) we are expressly told that the placing of 'gadā' in the left hand of Viṣṇu in his Kṛṣṇa Avatāra is meritorious ( 'Kṛṣṇāvatāre tu gadā vāmahaste praśasyate' ). The incidents in the lives of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are narrated in the epic and Purāṇic literature as well as in various other kinds of texts. The stories connected with their youthful days which are absent in the earliest sections of the Great Epic are elaborately dealt with in the 'Harivaṃśa', the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa' and other comparatively late texts, and when references to such episodes of this nature are found in the Śiśupālavadhaparvādhyāya of the Sabhāparvan of the 'Mahābhārata,' they have rightly been adjudged as late interpolations. But it is beyond doubt that some of these stories were already well-known in the early centuries of the Christian era, for plastic representation of one of them



at least has been discovered, which go back to a period as early as the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. The 12th chapter of 'Agnipurāṇa' gives a succinct account of the life history of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, the account being a bare summary of the same given in such elaborate texts as the 'Harivaṃśa,' the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa' and others. Vasudeva was the best of the Yādavas who were the descendents of Yadu born of Yayāti and Devayānī ; his seventh child Baladeva was transferred in his pre-natal stage from the womb of his mother Devakī to that of Rohiṇī and so he came to be known as Rauhīṇeya. The eighth child of Vasudeva and Devakī was Kṛṣṇa, who was born at dead of night on the eighth day of the dark fortnight in the month of Bhādra and was exchanged by Vasudeva with the female child of Nandagopa of Gokula for fear of Kāṃsa, the king of Mathura. Kāṃsa had vowed to kill the children of his sister Devakī as it was prophesied that one of them would kill him on coming of age.<sup>1</sup> When Kāṃsa became aware next of the birth of a girl child to his sister, he was about to strike her dead on a stone slab ; but he could not do so because she, who was none other than Yoganidrā, slipped out of his hand and warned him that he who would destroy him was thriving in Gokula. Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa began to grow up in pastoral association under the fostering care of Nanda and his wife Yaśodā, and Kṛṣṇa performed certain feats in their childhood such as killing of Putanā the ogress, the upturning of the two Arjuna trees, the breaking of the cart, the subjugation of the snake Kāliya of Vṛndāvana, the killing of the bull-demon Aṛiṣṭa, the ass-demon Dhenuka and the horse-demon Keśin, the uplifting of the mountain Govardhana in order to protect Gokula from the deluge of rain sent by the raingod Indra ; in some of these feats Balarāma also took part. On their way to Mathura where they were invited by Kāṃsa through Akrūra one of the Vṛṣṇi chiefs, they forcibly took the garments from the washerman who had refused to part with them ; Kṛṣṇa straightened a hunch-backed maid who

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1. It may be mentioned, that this enmity between Kṛṣṇa and Kāṃsa was a well-known tradition even in the time of Patañjali who tells us that Vāsudeva killed Kāṃsa in ancient times ('Jaghāna Kāṃsaṃ kila Vāsudevaḥ').

gave them sandal unguent which was being taken by her ; he killed Kūbalayāpīḍa, the mad elephant who was in front of Kāṁsa's abode ; then entering the court of Kāṁsa, Kṛṣṇa killed Cānura and Muṣṭika, the two famous court-wrestlers of Kāṁsa ; at last Kṛṣṇa, after killing Kāṁsa, placed Ugrasena, the latter's old father on the throne, who was king of Mathura before he was deposed by his son. Kṛṣṇa defeated Jarāsandha when the latter besieged Mathura and both the brothers went afterwards to Dwārākā and began to rule there. Kṛṣṇa killed various other demons like the Pañcajanas, the Kālayavana and Narakāśura. Baladeva had two sons, Nīṣaṭha and Ulmuka, through his wife Revatī, while Kṛṣṇa had many sons through his numerous wives, two of which were Śāmba born of Jāmbavatī, and Pradyumna, of Rukmiṇī. Pradyumna was none other than Kāmadeva or Manmatha in one of his previous births as we know from the story of his abduction by Sambarāśura and his union with Māyāvatī, the wife of the asura, after he had killed him. Aniruddha was the son of Pradyumna ; he married Ūṣā the daughter of Bāṇa, Bali's son, and a great devotee of Śiva, against her father's consent ; a great fight took place over this affair between Aniruddha and Kṛṣṇa on one side and Bāṇa and his chosen god Śiva on the other. In the end Bāṇa was defeated and his thousand arms were cut off ; but Kṛṣṇa on the entreaty of Śiva assured the asura of his favour and thenceforward Bāṇa began to live as two-armed. Śiva was very much pleased with this gracious act of Kṛṣṇa and he emphasised the real unity between Kṛṣṇa and himself. After being honoured by Śiva and others assembled there, Kṛṣṇa returned with his relations and followers to Dwārakā and lived there happily. Aniruddha had a son Vajra by name (this Vajra appears as the interlocutor in the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' asking questions of Mārkaṇḍeya who answers them). Such demons as Pralamba and Dvidida were killed, the haughtiness of the Kauravas destroyed and the river Yamunā drawn to a newer channel by Baladeva.

It should be observed that this somewhat imperfect summary of the life story of the two brothers does very little justice to the noble character of the great Sātvata chief who was the centre of one of the greatest Bhakti cults of India. The 'Mahābhārata', especially in its

earlier parts, presents him as an astute politician, a noble and dutiful ruler, a man highly respected and loved by his followers for his unflinching support to the righteous cause and for numerous other virtues of his character. But yet the Purāṇic account about him had a great popular appeal and to a student of Iconography it has its special significance, for many of the episodes which are mentioned in it were represented in art from the early centuries of the Christian era onwards. These were not only depicted in wooden or stone sculptures, but were also illustrated in various kinds of paintings ( the Bengal practice of drawing temporary pictures with finely ground rice powder coloured differently on the floor of the Nāṭamaṇḍapa of Vaiṣṇava shrines may be referred to in this connection ), and were the subject matter of pantomimic performances, the earliest reference to which is to be found in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. The oldest representation of a Kṛṣṇa legend in plastic form is to be found on a fragmentary Kushan relief in the collection of the Mathura Museum ( No. 1344 ) which was correctly identified by Daya Ram Sahni as showing Vasudeva walking across the river Yamunā to carry the new-born babe to Nanda's place for safe custody—i. e., the Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī scene. It originally formed some part of a frieze belonging to a Vaiṣṇava shrine ; on the right corner is shown Vasudeva in knee-deep water with the child carried over his head ; the water of the Yamunā is conventionally represented by wave lines and sportive aquatic animals ; near the break on the left corner of the fragment Vasudeva is again shown waist deep in water holding the child near his breast, a seven-hooded snake sheltering him. D. R. Sahni dated it in the 2nd century A. D., but it may be a little later.<sup>1</sup> A series of reliefs carved on two partially preserved door jambs found at Mandor ( Māṇḍavyapur, the ancient capital of Marwar ), Rajputana, were noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar who identified the following scenes connected with Gopāla Kṛṣṇa on them ; these were :—( 1 ) the uplifting of the Govardhana mountain by Kṛṣṇa ( Govardhana dhāraṇa ), ( 2 ) Kṛṣṇa's stealing of butter, ( Nanicuri ) ( 3 ) his upturning the

1. 'A. S. I. A. R.', 1925-26, pp. 183-4 and plate.

cart (Śakaṭabhaṅga) on the first relief, while the second one contained (4) the scene of the slaying of the ass-demon Dhenuka by Balarāma (Dhenukavadha), (5) the subjugation of the Nāga Kāliya by Kṛṣṇa (Kāliyadamana); other scenes also were carved on them, but these are now lost. The date of the sculpture has been fixed by Bhandarkar in the 4th century A. D.<sup>1</sup> The representation of these Kṛṣṇāyaṇa scenes in Vaiṣṇava shrines was a common practice among the religious artists of India as the different extant reliefs belonging to the various parts of it prove. R. D. Banerjee has correctly identified multifarious scenes connected with the early life of Kṛṣṇa in the many friezes carved on the Cave Nos. II and IV at Badami; one not only recognises the scenes found on the Mandor door jambs, but numerous others such as 'Viṣṇu in Vaikuṇṭha receiving the earth goddess and his start from Vaikuṇṭha to be born as Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa's birth, Kāṁsa's visit to Vasudeva and Devakī in prison, Kāṁsa's attendants trying to kill Kṛṣṇa's sister, carriage of Kṛṣṇa to Gokula, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in Gokula, the mock coronation of Kṛṣṇa and the tending of cattle in Vraja, the killing of Vatsa and Ariṣṭa, the killing of Cānura, Muṣṭika and Kāṁsa's brothers, Kṛṣṇa's slaying Kuvalayāpīḍa, Kṛṣṇa's carriage of the Pārijāta tree from Indra's paradise to Dwārakā and planting of the same in Satyabhāmā's garden, the resultant fight between Kṛṣṇa and the gods led by Indra etc. The date of these sculptures is the 6th century A. D.<sup>2</sup> A series of separate bas-reliefs set up on the basement of the main shrine at Paharpur, Bengal, belonging to the late Gupta and early post Gupta periods, portray Kṛṣṇāyaṇa scenes. Among the incidents that can be

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1. 'A. S. I. A. R.,' 1905-06, pp. 135-40 and figures. R. G. Bhandarkar pointedly draws our attention to the 'Jñānāmṛtasāra' ('Nāradapañcarātra') passage which mentions Nārada's visit to Kailāsa where on the gates of Śaṅkara's Palace are pictures and sculptures relating to the scenes of Kṛṣṇa's childhood and his various deeds in the cow settlement, such as Vṛndāvana, Yamunā, Kṛṣṇa's sitting on the Kadamba tree with the garments of the cowherdesses and their return from bath in the Yamunā river in a naked condition, the destruction of the serpent Kāliya, the holding up of the Govardhana mountain on the palm of his hand, the journey to Mathura and the lamentations of the Gopis and his foster parents etc. He further remarks after referring to the Mandor reliefs, that 'the idea of infagining such sculptures on the gates of Śiva's palace could have occurred to a writer only when the practice of adorning gates and pillars with such sculptures had become general' ('Vaiṣṇavism' etc., pp. 40-1).

2. M. A. S. I., No. 25, pp. 4-9 247, 55, and pls. XII, XXIII-XXV.

recognised there, the following may be mentioned : Kṛṣṇa uprooting the Yamalārjuna trees, the fight of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma with Cāṇura and Muṣṭika, Kṛṣṇa killing the horse-demon Keśin ( Keśinisūdana, this relief was at first incorrectly identified by K. N. Dikshit as the killing of the ass-demon Dhenuka by Balarāma, S. K. Saraswati corrected the mistake ), Kṛṣṇa uplifting the Govardhana mountain, and Balarāma killing Pralambāsura. Besides these stories connected with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, the basement reliefs contain several independent figures which contain iconographic representations of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma of early period.<sup>1</sup> Some of the mediaeval Vaiṣṇava shrines of the time of the Haihaya kings of Tripuri ( modern Tewar in the Central Provinces ) contain large stone slabs which must have been fixed in different parts of the temples ; these bear on them relief-carvings some of which can be definitely recognised as portraying the Kṛṣṇa legends. The palace of the Thakur of Sohagpur, which is as it were a veritable museum, has three such big stone slabs, in the first of which as many as fourteen separate Kṛṣṇāyana stories are depicted ; these are almost the same as enumerated above. On the two other slabs of stone which have been described by R. D. Banerjee as Unknown on account of his inability to understand the iconography of their numerous panels, one can recognise such stories as the killing of Pralamba, Cāṇura, Muṣṭika, the horse demon Keśin, the mad elephant Kuvalaya etc.<sup>2</sup> The practice of showing these Kṛṣṇāyana stories in stone panels continued to the present times and I have seen slabs like the Sohagpur ones carved on the side wall of the Nāṭamaṇḍapa in the Shyam temple of Chitorgadh, Udaypur state, Rajputana, built under the auspices of Rāṇā Kumbha in the early part of the 15th century A. D.

1. S. K. Saraswati—'Early Sculpture of Bengal', 'Journal of the Department of Letters' Calcutta University, Vol. XXX, pp. 55-60, 72-5, Figures 12-14. K. N. Dikshit. 'Paharpur' ( 'M. A. S. I.' No. 55 ). The interpretation of some of the reliefs suggested by Dikshit has been improved upon by S. K. Saraswati.

2. R. D. Banerjee, 'The Haihayas of Tripuri' ( 'M. A. S. I.' No. 23 ), pp. 100-06., pls. XLII ( b )—XLIV. Banerjee gives a detailed description of these reliefs and it is curious that when he very correctly identifies almost all the panels in the first slab, he is unable to identify at least a few obvious on the other two ; it must be observed, however, that some panels in the latter still remain to be identified.

The earliest extant separate sculptures of Kṛṣṇa generally show him in the attitude of uplifting the mountain Govardhana. A red sandstone relief of the late Kushan period in the collection of the Mathura Museum (D 47) represents Kṛṣṇa standing and balancing Mount Govardhana on the palm of his left hand; 'vanamālā' and other usual ornaments particular to Viṣṇu decorate his body; on each side of him is a dwarflike figure standing with both hands resting on a club and surmounted by two cows one placed over the other—these human and animal figures typify the inmates of Vraja who were given shelter by Kṛṣṇa in this manner from the wrath of Indra. J. Ph. Vogel thus remarks about it; 'the sculpture is interesting as the earliest representation of Kṛṣṇa hitherto found at Mathura'.<sup>1</sup> A very large Gupta sculpture from Benares illustrating the same theme is now in the collection of the Sarnath Museum. The back wall of one of the rock-cut shrines at Mahabalipuram bears a very elaborate representation of the same motif. Some south Indian sculptures of the late mediaeval period illustrating the story have been noticed by T. A. G. Rao in his work. Separate icons of fairly early date representing Kṛṣṇa are comparatively rare. One of the Paharpur basement sculptures of the late Gupta period showing a male and a female standing side by side has been identified by K. N. Dikshit as representing Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The male figure with hair beautifully arranged in curls on the top of the head and shown in parallel wavelike folds down the neck is reminiscent of the royal figures on the imperial Gupta coins; its graceful and amatory pose, the shy wistful smile on the oval face of the female, their divine character indicated by the halo round the head of each and the association of this panel with others there connected with the Kṛṣṇa legend lend probability to Dikshit's suggestion. A question can be raised, however, with regard to the identity of the female

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1. 'M. M. C.', p. 105; for its reproduction refer to Coomaraswamy, 'H. I. I. A', pl. XXIX, fig. 102. Small slabs containing a summary representation of this scene are found in Mathura; some replicas are in the collection of the Indian Museum.

figure; Rādhā as the principal Gopī appears quite late in literature and it is doubtful whether the female figure in this late Gupta relief can be identified as Rādhā. In this view of the case it would be better to describe the panel as depicting Kṛṣṇa with one of his consorts Rukmiṇī or Satyabhāmā, as S. K. Saraswati has done.<sup>1</sup> In modern Vaiṣṇava shrines separate images of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā along with those of the Aṣṭasakhīs such as Lalitā, Viśākhā, Anurādhā, Kubjā, Citrā and others are very frequently enshrined in the main sanctum. Various other separate types of Kṛṣṇa images, mostly belonging to the late mediaeval and modern periods, are known; they fall under the groups of Navanīta Nṛtyamūrti, Kāliyadamanamūrti (these two are the dancing types of Kṛṣṇa images—the first depicting the gleeful dance of a child when he is in possession of some sweet edibles and the second showing the subjugation of the evil serpent. Kāliya—reminding us of Śiva dancing on the back of Apasmāra Puruṣa), Venu-Gopāla (Gopāla playing on a flute), Bāla Kṛṣṇa or Nāḍu-Gopāla (the infant Kṛṣṇa on all fours tasting a piece of sweetmeat), Vaṭapatrasāyin (Kṛṣṇite conception of the Brāhmaṇic Nārāyaṇa—here a child lying on a banyan leaf sucking its left toe—cf. the Vanaparvan, chs. 188-9, description of the boy lying on a couch on the branch of a Nyagrodha tree floating on the primaeval waters, at the time of the dissolution), and Pārthasārathī (Kṛṣṇa as the charioteer of Arjuna in the battlefield of Kurukṣetra).<sup>2</sup> T. A. G. Rao

1. S. K. Saraswati, 'op. cit.', pp. 42-5, fig. 8. Saraswati has quoted a relevant passage from the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' (Bk. III, ch. 85, 72-3) which mentions the figures of Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā in connection with the image of Kṛṣṇa. But the particular passage would not help us in identifying definitely the relief in question, for the simple reason that most of the details mentioned there do not tally with it. The passage reads :—'Kṛṣṇaścakradharaḥ Kāryyo nilotpaladalacchaviḥ | Indīvarakarākāryyā tathā śyāmā ca Rukmiṇī. Tārksyasthā sā ca karttavṛyā Satyabhāmā surūpiṇī'. The word 'tārksyasthā' in the last line seems to be a mistake; Satyabhāmā riding on Garuḍa by the side of Kṛṣṇa is improbable. The correct reading appears to have been 'pārśvasthā' or some such word. Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī figures in stone and bronze of the late mediaeval period have been reproduced by T. A. G. Rao in pls. LVIII and LIX of his book, vol. I.

2. These images have been well described and illustrated by T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.', vol. I, pp. 206-16, and pls. LX-LXVII. All of them hail from south Indian, but their north India counterparts of comparatively late date are common; in fact most of the Vaiṣṇava shrines of the last few centuries in the different parts of northern India have one or other of these varieties of Kṛṣṇa images as the principal cult object.

has collected iconographic texts dealing with these images from the 'Vaikhānasāgama', 'Viṣṇudharmottara' and others ('op. cit.', vol. I, App. C, pp. 45-8).

In the 'Agnipurāṇa' summary of 'Harivaṃśa' or the genealogy of Hari, Balarāma is only cursorily mentioned; but that he was an important object of worship among the early Bhāgavatas is proved by early literary as well as archaeological data. I have already referred to the passage in Patañjali's 'Mahābhāṣya' (Kielhorn, vol. I, p. 426), which refers to the sounding of certain musical instruments in the temples of Dhanapati, Rāma (Balarāma) and Keśava ('prāsāde Dhanapati-Rāma-Keśavānām'); the following commentary 'may the power of Kṛṣṇa second to Saṃkarṣaṇa increase' (on Pāṇini, II, 2, 23—'Saṃkarṣaṇadvitīyasya balaṃ Kṛṣṇasya vardhatām') also occurs in the same section. Kauṭilya's reference to the worship of Saṃkarṣaṇa (same as Balarāma) as well as the early epigraphic and monumental evidence with regard to it has also been discussed by me in the third chapter of my book, 'D.H.I.' In the Nagari epigraph as well as in one of the above two 'Mahābhāṣya' passages, the importance of Saṃkarṣaṇa is emphasised, as in both of them his name occupies first place in the compound of the two words (Saṃkarṣaṇa-Vāsudeva and Rāma-Keśava).<sup>1</sup> H. C. Ray Chaudhury remarks that in the Ghosunḍi record 'Saṃkarṣaṇa is not a mere emanation from Vāsudeva, but is styled 'Bhagavat' and 'Sarveśvara' equally with his more famous brother. Saṃkarṣaṇa had undoubtedly his special votaries as is proved by the evidence of Kauṭilya and the story of his relations with Duryodhana narrated in the Great Epic'.<sup>2</sup> Extant sculptures

1. This is also the case in the 'Vāyupurāṇa' passage which enumerates the five heroes of the Vṛṣṇi clan (ch. 97, 1-3); Saṃkarṣaṇa is named first. The Jaina texts collectively refer to them as 'Baladevapamokkhā pañcamahāvīrā'. They were according to the 'Vāyupurāṇa' evidence, 'manuṣyapraṁṛti devas' or 'gods who were originally men'.

2. H. C. Ray Chaudhury. 'Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect', Second Edition, pp. 98-9. Kauṭilya speaks of a class of ascetics 'with shaved head or braided hair' ('muṇḍi' and 'jaṭi') who adored Saṃkarṣaṇa as their special deity. In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the 'Mahābhārata', Vāsudeva is identified with the 'Paramātman' and Saṃkarṣaṇa with the 'Jīvātman'. In the 'Bhīṣmaparva' and the 'Aśvamedhika Saṃhitā', Saṃkarṣaṇa appears as an exponent of the 'Sātvata' or 'Pāṇḍarātra śāstra'.



of Saṃkarṣaṇa-Balarāma can be divided as in the case of the other images of the incarnatory forms into two groups, one in which they occur in the row of the Daśavatāra images and in the other when they occur independently of the rest of the Avatāras. In the latter case, especially in their early specimens, the probability of their being recognised as the Vyūha Saṃkarṣaṇa should not be set aside. The earliest extant image of Balarāma was found by late Pandit Radha Krishna near Mathura and it is now in the Lucknow Museum. Balarāma stands under a canopy of six serpent hoods and holds a 'musala' (pestle) and a 'hala' (ploughshare) in his right and left hands respectively, the weapons being placed against his shoulders; a massive turban is shown on his head and he wears ear-rings, a torque, armlets, bracelets, a waist-girdle and a short 'dhoti'; the right leg is slightly bent at the knee, as in some of the early Yakṣa statues, but the left leg is implanted straight. V. S. Agrawala remarks about it: 'The image can not be later than the second century B. C. and must be regarded as the earliest representation of any Brāhmaṇical deity in the whole field of Hindu iconography'.<sup>1</sup> The above sculpture is of special interest in connection with the study of Hindu mythology and iconography, as it fully shows that the association of the Nāga element with Balarāma (cf. the Purāṇic version of his having been an incarnation of Ananta or Śeṣa Nāga) has been well-established at such an early date. I have already drawn attention in the third chapter of my book, 'Development of Hindu Iconography', to the observation of Vogel that 'modern idols of Baladeva

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1. 'J. I. S. O. A.', 1937, p. 126, pl. XIV, fig. 4. Agrawala observes on the evidence of this chance find as well as that of the Tirthaṅkara image found by K. P. Jayaswal (cf. 'J. B. O. R. S', 1937, pp. 130-32.) that 'the religious tradition of the land had allowed the shaping of the principal deities in human form for purposes of worship much earlier than is often conceived by archaeologists in relation to the question of the origin of the Buddha image'. The Bankipore torso of the nude Tirthaṅkara has been dated by Jayaswal in the Maurya period on account of the high polish which it bears; but the Deḡargūnj Yakṣiṇī which was dated on the same ground in the Maurya age has recently been post dated by Marshall on stylistic grounds in the 1st century B. C. (cf. Marshall, 'Monuments of Sanchi', vol. I, P. 93). The Lucknow Museum Balarāma also may be assigned a little later date, one in the 1st century B. C. is probable.

manufactured here, (in the Mathura region) are exact copies of the ancient Nāga figures' and remarked that in ancient and mediaeval times also, images of this god were based on the hybrid Nāga figures; the Lucknow Museum relief fully bears out my observation. The inscribed Nāga image of the time of Huvishka discovered at Chhargaoon by Pandit Radha Krishna was worshipped by the local villagers as Dauji, i. e. Baladeva, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa. In the case of the Nāga figures, wherever they are well preserved, the right hand is generally raised above the head, the left holding a cup; we shall presently see that some of the Balarāma figures hold a wine-cup in their hands and the iconographic texts also emphasise the inebriety of the god. That Balarāma or Saṃkarṣaṇa worship was well established in the early centuries of the Christian era is fully proved as several images of this god belonging to this period were discovered in different parts of northern India. A figure of Balarāma datable in the second or third century A. D. was discovered at Tumain in Gwalior State, Central India, which was somewhat similar to the one from Mathura just described.<sup>1</sup> The exhibit No. B. 974 in the collection of the Lucknow Museum shows a male figure standing in the 'samapādasthānaka' pose with the seven-hooded snake canopy attached behind his back; the hair is beautifully arranged with a top-knot on the centre of the cranium, just like the so-called protuberance on that of a Buddha figure and there are ornaments like pearl string placed on the forehead, ear-rings, torque, armlets, long sacred thread and a scarf arranged in 'vanamālā' fashion; on the left side is a Nāginī standing in a graceful pose, while on the right is a couple (probably the donor couple) with their hands in the 'añjali' pose. This has been described in the Museum Records as the 'sandstone image of a Nāga'; probably it is so. The similarity to the figures of Balarāma is, however, so great that one is tempted to identify it as that of Balarāma; but unfortunately its forearms are broken and there is no means of determining the nature of the objects held by them. The pedestal of the image bears an inscription in characters of the 5th century A. D. If a comparison of the above sculpture is made with

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1. 'A. S. I. A. R.,' 1918-19, p. 21 and plate XIII (a).

that of Balarāma found on the basement of the main shrine at Paharpur, a great deal of similarity is seen as regards their iconographic presentation. The arrangement of the hair in the shape of a top-knot, the pearl string on the forehead, the seven-hooded snake canopy, the torque, armlets, the sacred thread, waist-girdle etc. are common to both of them ; in the Paharpur relief, heavy snake coils are arranged behind the back of the deity in a manner similar to the one followed in the Kushan Nāga statues at Mathura. There are two attendants of the Paharpur Balarāma, the one to his proper right holding a cup and a wine flask being female, and the other to his proper left being male ; Balarāma here is endowed with four arms, the lower right, upper right and upper left carrying in order a wine cup, a long staff ( a variety of 'musala' ? ) and a ploughshare with a long handle, the front left hand being placed on the thigh. The pedestal is plain and the god has a slight bend in his body. The carving of the main figure in this late Gupta relief is well-executed but its meditative look ill fits with the iconographic description that his eyes should be rolling as a sign of inebriety ('madavibhramalocana'). The four-armed image of Balarāma found by D. R. Bhandarkar at Osia has a plough-share and a club in his two back right and left hands respectively and has the canopy of five snake hoods ; his front right hand holds a wine cup and his front left clasps his consort Revatī to his breast—this is a comparatively unusual combination. The seventh temple of Osia, the most magnificent of the temple group there, has two projecting pilasters on both sides elegantly carved with figure sculptures ; their lower halves contain dancing female figures in natural poses. Above are Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Saṃkarṣaṇa-Balarāma, the former on the proper right hand pilaster and the latter on the other side. Both are seated on Garuḍas, the former with his usual attributes while the latter holds 'hala' and 'musala' in two of his back hands, one of his front hands holding the 'śaṅkha', the fourth hand being in the 'jñāna mudrā' ; Balarāma has his canopy of snake hoods. This sculpture is very interesting because Balarāma on Garuḍa with 'śaṅkha' in his hand is an extremely rare mode of depicting him. But this may typify one way of showing Vyūha Saṃkarṣaṇa, the other being that where he is depicted like Vāsudeva in all

respects, but holding 'gadā', 'śaṅkha', 'padma' and 'cakra' in his front right, back right, back left and front left hands respectively. Mention may be made in this connection of the four-armed image of Baladeva discovered at Baghra (Dacca, Bengal), which can be dated in the late mediaeval period. This well-carved relief is very similar to that of an usual four-armed 'sthānaka'-Viṣṇu; it holds a mace, a wheel and a conchshell in its back right, back left and front left hands respectively, stands on a double-petalled lotus below which sits Garuḍa with his hands in the añjali pose, and it is accompanied by Śrī and Puṣṭi; in place of the usual snake canopy, an umbrella is shown spread over its head. The only distinctive feature which gives its identity is a ploughshare held by its front right hand.<sup>1</sup> One is justified in comparing this with the second Osia Baladeva just noticed; the 'jñāna-mudrā' in one of the hands of the latter can be explained by the Pāñcarātra ideology that Saṃkarṣaṇa-Balarāma typified knowledge and it was he who expounded the Sātvatavidhi. Two four-armed bronze figures of the god, both belonging to the reign of Devapāla, belong—one to Kurkihar in the Gaya district and the other to Nalanda in the Patna district, Bihar. In each case the two back hands hold 'hala' and 'musala'; in the former one of the right hands is broken away and the other probably shows a sweetmeat, while the two right hands in the Nalanda image hold a dish of sweetmeat and a wine cup. The Kurkihar image is an elaborate piece of bronze casting; the ornaments in the body, the 'vanamālā', the seven snakehoods, the leogryph, the Vidyādhara over the parabolic 'śiraścakra', the peacocks on the top of the 'toraṇa' with their tails ending in scroll foliage, the two standing female attendants, one holding a wine cup and the other a wine-jug in their respective left hands, their right ones being in 'jñāna-mudrā', all these are displayed in the composition; the whole is placed on an elaborate 'triratha' pedestal. Kramrisch remarks about this piece that the figure is 'heavy with power, which is communicated to the eye of the devotee (one of the attendant figures described above) as it encompasses in simultaneous concentration, the image of the god'.

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1. 'Dacca History of Bengal', I, p. 434, Pl. IV.

The power well fits in with Saṃkarṣaṇa-Balarāma—the possessor of 'bala' (power) one of the six ideal 'guṇas'. The inscription on this sculpture shows that it was cast in the 9th year of Devapālā and so its date would fall in c. 824 A. D. The Nalanda bronze Balarāma is a much better work of art and is one of the leading examples of early mediaeval bronze-casting in eastern India. The four-armed stone Balarāma in the collection of the Rajshahi Museum follows the Paharpur relief in the matter of the disposition of its hands.<sup>1</sup> When this god is depicted along with the other nine incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu, he is almost invariably endowed with two hands, one of which holds his characteristic emblem, 'hala' (ploughshare), while the other is in the 'abhaya' or the 'varada' pose.

As regards the iconographic texts dealing with this 'avatāra', that in chapter 57 of the 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā' is one of the earliest. It lays down that Baladeva should be shown with a ploughshare in his hand and his eyes should be wandering which indicates his inebriety; he should wear only one ear-ring and his body should be white like a conchshell, moon or a water-lily' (ch. 57, v. 36—'Baladeva halapāṇīrmadabibhramal-oceanasca karttavayah | Vibhrat kuṇḍalamekaṃ śaṅkhendumṛṇālagaurāṇiḥ'). This passage does not specify the number of arms, but it is evident only two are meant. The 'Agnipurāṇa' (ch. 49) says that Balarāma should be either two or four-armed; in the case of a two-armed image the hands should hold a mace and a ploughshare, while in a four-armed one in the upper left should be placed a ploughshare, in the lower left a conch-shell, in the upper right a pestle and in the lower right a wheel (ch. 49, 6-7: 'Gadālāṅgaladhārī ca Rāmo vātha caturbhujah | Vāmorddhve lāṅgalaṃ dadyādadhah śaṅkhaṃ suśobhanam | Musalaṃ dakṣiṇorddhve tu cakrāñcādhah suśobhanam'). The 'Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra' gives an identical description of Baladeva. I have shown in the first chapter

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1. For the Paharpur relief, refer to S. K. Saraswati, 'op. cit.' pp. 46-50 and fig. 10; for the Osia specimens, cf. 'A. S. I. A. R.' 1908-09, pp. 104, 106; for the Kurkihar bronze, see 'J. I. S. O. A.' vol. II, No. 2, pp. 79-81, pl. XXVIII, 1; for the Nalanda specimen refer to R. D. Banerjee, 'Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture', pl. I (b), and J. C. French, 'The Art of the Pala Empire', pl. X.

of my previous book that this was the source from which the 'Agnipurāṇa' drew much of its iconographic materials) but it refers to another variant form of this deity when it says that a mace and a sword should be placed in lieu of a conch shell and a wheel ('Gadāṃ kṛpāṇaṃ vā dadyāt saṃsthāne śaṅkhacakrayoḥ'; the 'Haribhaktivilāsa' version of the last 'carāṇa' of this line, viz. 'saṃsthāne śakticakrayoḥ', is evidently wrong). It refers to two more varieties of Saṃkarṣaṇa-Baladeva when it lays down that he should be made with four arms and decorated with one ear-ring; in one he is to hold a plough-share, a pestle, a mace, a lotus, while in the other a conch-shell, a wheel, and a mace are to be placed in the three hands, the fourth being the 'varada' pose ('Baladevaścaturbāhuḥ kuṇḍalaikavibhūṣitaḥ | Lāṅgalī musalī devo gadāpadmadharo vibhuḥ | Śaṅkhachakra-gadāpāṇiḥ karttavyo varado'thavā'). The last two varieties, however, describe the god in his 'vyūha' aspect for their description is incorporated in connection with the account of the images of Vāsudeva, Pradyumna and Aniruddha (all the above passages are quoted from Gopal Bhatta's presentation of the above in the 18th vilāsa of his work). The 'Viṣṇu-dharmottara' passage describes Baladeva as holding a ploughshare and a pestle in his hands (probably a two-armed image is meant) and having ear-rings (or one ear-ring, 'caiva kuṇḍalī' should be better emended as 'caika kuṇḍalī'); he should be white in colour and should wear a blue garment and should have his eyes marked with inebriety (ch. 85, vv. 72-3; 'Sīrapāṇirbalaḥ kāryo musalī caiva (caika) kuṇḍalī | Śvetotini-lavasano madādañcita locanaḥ'). Early in the same chapter, the 'Viṣṇu-dharmottara' refers to the form of the Vyūha Saṃkarṣaṇa in the following lines: 'Vāsudevasya rūpeṇa kāryaḥ Saṃkarṣaṇaḥ prabhuḥ || Sa tu śuklavapuḥ kāryo nīlavāsa Yadūttama || Gadāsthāne ca musalaṃ cakras-thāne ca lāṅgalaṃ | Kartavyau tanumadhyau tau nṛrūpau rūpasamyutau (vv. 21-2). It should be noted that the 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā' and the 'Viṣṇu-dharmottara' passages alone emphasise the inebriate condition of this Avatāra which is fully corroborated by the presence of the wine cup in the hands of some of the extant images of Balarāma, as well as the goggle eyes depicted in others. The 'Mahābhārata' refers to the bacchanalian orgies of Baladeva and this very well fits in with the character of the lord. The 'Vaikhānasāgama', as quoted by T. A. G. Rao,

describes the god as being two-armed, 'madhyamadaśatāla' in measurement, standing in 'tribhaṅga' pose, holding a pestle in his right hand and a ploughshare in his left; white in colour and wearing red cloth and earrings, he should have the goddess Revatī to his right. A 'kautuka bera' of this god should be of this type, or it may be of the form of a four-armed Viṣṇu. None of these texts refer to the snake-hoods behind his head, although the snake connection of this deity is undoubted from the mythology as well as from the actual representations; Vogel suggested that 'the mythical Baladeva developed from a Nāga lord and his worship might have been absorbed into Kṛṣṇaism when this cult rose into prominence; Baladeva was an agricultural deity and so were the Nāgas who were intimately associated with water'.<sup>1</sup>

The last two incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu are seldom, if at all, represented separately; they invariably appear in their proper places in the Daśavatāra reliefs. Buddha is sometimes, though rarely, omitted in South Indian sculptures, his substitute being Kṛṣṇa; but I know of no north or east Indian Daśavatāra slab where Buddha is absent. The mode of incorporation of Buddha, the founder of a heretical creed, into the Brāhmaṇic pantheon is worth noticing, and the mythology concocted about Viṣṇu appearing as Buddha for the delusion of the Asuras with false doctrine, in order that they may be destroyed by the gods, is significant. The exponents of Brāhmaṇic Hinduism could not ignore the importance which this religious reformer attained among the millions of the Indians, but they attacked the system that grew around his personality in no uncertain terms. A very curious account is given about the origin of this system, heretical from the orthodox Hindu standpoint, in the 'Viṣṇu purāṇa'; the 'Agnipurāṇa' gives a brief summary of it. Parāśara on being asked by Maitreya about the nature of the Nāgas

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1. 'A. S. I. A. R.,' 1908-09, Vogel on 'Nāga worship in ancient Mathura', p. 2. Vogel thoroughly discussed the whole question about the Nāga cult in his later work 'Indian Serpent Lore'. It may be observed here that as the mythology about Baladeva proves the absorption of some Nāga elements in Vāsudeva-Viṣṇuism, so also the story about the subjugation of the Nāga Kāliya by Kṛṣṇa shows the progress of the cult at the expense of this animistic form of religion which was current among the previous settlers of India.

i. e. the naked ones, answers that those persons who have ignored the authority of the Vedas which really serve as the garments of the members of the three orders ( Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya ) are to be described as such. In times of yore when the Devas were defeated by the Asuras, they went in a body to Viṣṇu to help them in their sad plight. Viṣṇu then created a form Māyāmoha ( Illusion or Delusion ) by name who was sent by him to the banks of the river Narmadā where the Asuras were practising austerities according to the approved Vedic manner. Māyāmoha convinced them in sweet reasonable words about the futility of their religious practice, inveighing against the sacrificial form of religion in which animals were killed ; he taught them many doctrines which were directly against the Vedic teachings and as he enjoined them to pay respect ('arhatha') to the great 'dharma' which was preached by him, they who adopted it came to be known as 'Arhata' ( 'Arhathemaṃ mahaddharmam Māyāmohena te yataḥ । Proktāstamāśritā dharmamarhatāstena te'bhavan' ). The successive generations of the Asuras were thus weaned from the religion of the three (Vedas) by Māyāmoha who repeatedly told them to know this way, to understand thus etc. ('Evaṃ budhyata budhyadhvam budhyataivamitīrayan । Māyāmohaḥ sa Daiteyān dharmamatyājayannijān' ). He made them to understand that this universe is without any resting place and is prone to be understood wrongly, and it is vitiated by various kinds of evil passions and is ever moving in a vicious circle ('Jagatetad-anādhāraṃ bhrāntijñānārthatatparam । Rāgādiduṣṭamatyartham bhrāmyate bhavaśaṅkaṭe' ). Thus Māyāmoha who is none other than Buddha ( cf. the ingenious way of explaining the name by referring to the root verb meaning 'know', 'understand'-'budhyata' or 'budhyadhvam' ) prepared the ground for the destruction of the Asuras by the Devas and the latter were helped in this way by Viṣṇu to regain their lost power and prestige. The 'Agnipurāṇa' does not forget the historical character of Buddha and glibly tells us that Viṣṇu on being entreated by the gods incarnated himself in the form of Māyāmoha as the son of Śuddhodana and deluded the Daityas who became his followers, i. e., the Bauddhas and gave up all Vedic rites ; he became the Arhat and afterwards made others Arhats ;



in this way originated the Pāṣaṇḍas who went outside the pale of the Vedic dharma ; they always did works which were worthy of hell and they received ( alms ) even from the lowliest<sup>1</sup>. Regarding the period of his incorporation into the Brāhmaṇic pantheon, I have already shown that two of the early authoritative Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, the 'Sātvata' and the 'Ahirbudhnya', include him in the list of the thirty-nine incarnations. The 'Bhāgavata', 'Matsya', ( in the chapters on image-making, it omits any reference to Buddhāvatāra, but in ch. 47, in its account of Viṣṇu's Avatāras, it includes Buddha ), 'Varāha' and a few other Purāṇas refer to him as Viṣṇu's incarnation. The 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā' passage in the chapter on Pratimālakṣaṇa describes the Buddha image perhaps as the cult-object of the Buddhists. The 'Viśvakṣena Saṃhitā', a Pāñcarātra text, describes Buddha, Arjuna and a few others as secondary Avatāras. The Gupta inscriptions associated with the Vaiṣṇava creed do not refer to Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu ; but this may only prove that Buddha's Avatārahood was not so well recognised as in later times. The actual images of Buddha as an Avatāra, i. e., in the Brahmāṇical Hindu setting, followed the mode of his representation in Buddhist art. Of the different modes, the standing variety of Buddha figures, with one of his hands held in the 'abhaya' pose and the other holding the hem of his garment was extremely popular ; the seated variety appears very rarely in the Daśāvatāra slabs. The 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā' emphasises Buddha's placid nature as well as his solicitude for the welfare of all beings in its description of his image ; it also very characteristically refers to certain of his well-known iconographic peculiarities. The couplet already quoted by me in a previous context requires notice once again : 'Buddha should have the palms of his hands and the soles of his feet marked with lotus, he should be placid in form and his hair should be very short ('sunīca' ; another reading is

2. 'Agnipurāṇa', Ch. XVI, verses I-5 : 'Vakṣye Buddhāvatāraṇca paṭhataḥ śṛṇvatorthadam | Purā devāsura yuddhe Daityairdevāḥ parājitāḥ || Rakṣa rakṣeti śaraṇaṃ vadanto jagmuriśvaram | Māyāmohaśvarūpo'sau Śuddhodaṇasuto'bhavat || Mohayāmāsa Daityāmatāṃstyājītān Vedadharmmakam | Te ca Pauddhā vaśhūvurhi tebhyo'nye Vedavarjitaḥ || Arhataḥ so'bhavat paścādarhatānakarot parān | Evam pāṣaṇḍino jātā Vedadharmmadivarjitaḥ || Narakārhaṃ karma cakruḥ grahiṣyantyadhamādaḥ pi.'

'sunīta' which would mean 'well-arranged'; Utpala explains the first as 'sunīca atyalpaḥ keśa mūrdhaja yasya', the second as sunīta atiniyamitah'; he should be seated on a lotus seat and should appear as the father of the whole world' (ch. 57, v. 41). The Viṣṇupurāṇa curiously, however, describes Māyāmoha as naked with head shaved and a peacock tail in hand ('digambaro muṇḍo barhipatradharā'); the confusion made here between the Digambara Jainas, the Nagna-Kṣapaṇakas of the 'Bṛhatsamhitā' passage in the chapter dealing with the consecration of images, and the Buddhists who were described as Nagnas on account of their having discarded the authority of the three Vedas, seems to be a wilful one. The 'Agnipurāṇa' description of the Buddha figure takes into account most of the essential iconographic features when it lays down that Buddha of the tranquil soul should be long-eared, his white body covered with garments, seated on a lotus with petals turning upwards and his hands in the 'varada' and 'abhaya' poses ('Śāntātmā lambakarṇaśca gaurāṅgaścāmbarāvṛtaḥ | Ūrdhva-padma-sthito Buddhō varadābhaya-dāyakaḥ'). The 'Hayaśīrṣa,' as quoted by Gopala Bhatta adds a few other details to those mentioned in the 'Agnipurāṇa' passage, just quoted. It says that Buddha who is Hari should be ten 'tālas' in measurement; his ears should be elongated; he should wear 'cīvaras' (garments consisting of three pieces, 'antaravāsaka,' 'uttarāsaṅga' and 'saṅghāṭi', i. e., under garment, upper garment and long cloak respectively); his face and eyes should resemble lotus flowers; he should be depicted as engaged in deep meditation with the palms of his hands turned upwards and his eyes looking at his nosetip ('yoga dṛṣṭi'); the sculptor (rūpakāma) should enshrine the image of one who is regarded as the father of the whole universe.<sup>1</sup>

Kalkin, the last of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu is yet to come. According to the 'Agnipurāṇa' (ch. 16, verses 5-11) when in the end of the Kaliyuga all sorts of inequities will spread over the whole of the earth, when people will be cloaked by false religion, when the Mlecchas as kings will be killing their subjects, then Lord Viṣṇu will appear in this

1. 'Daśatālam tathā Buddhaṃ padmāsanagataṃ Hariṃ | Pralamba śravaṇaṃ kūrṇyācōvarāṇaṅkṛtaṃ tathā | Maṇinābhaṃ samādhiṣṭhaṃ padmāsyaṃ padmalocanaṃ | Samādhiṣṭhottānaṃ pāpīṃ yogadṛṣṭisam-  
anvitaṃ | Bṛhāpayet rūpakāmaṣṭu piteva jagataḥ patim'.

world as Kalkin, the son of Viṣṇuśaṅkha, and the great sage Yājñavalkya will be his priest. Then again the Varṇāśramadharma, good works and piety will be re-established and Hari after fulfilling his mission of restoration of 'dharma' will ascend to Heaven. This idea about the future incarnation of Viṣṇu is directly associated with the 'Bhagavadgītā' conception of the descent of the lord in various forms for restoring virtue and destroying vice. The same Purāṇa describes two varieties of Kalkī images, in one of which, evidently two-armed, he is endowed with a bow and a quiver full of arrows, in the other, a four-armed variety, he is depicted riding on horseback and holding a sword, a conchshell, a wheel and an arrow (ch. 49, 9: 'Dhanustūṇānvitah Kalkī mlecchotsādakaro dvijah | Athavāśvasthitah khaḍgī śaṅkhacakraśārvitah') The 'Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra' also speaks of these two varieties, two-armed and four-armed, the objects held in the hands of the same being almost identical ('Kalkinaṃ tu caturbāhuṃ vaddhatūṇaṃ dhanurddharam | Śaṅkhacakra-dharam kuryāttathā khaḍgadharāṃ prabhum || Dvibhujāṃ vā hayārūḍhaṃ khaḍgapāṇiṃ sureśvaraṃ | Kalkinaṃ sthāpayitvaivaṃ Śakra-sthānaṃ labhennaraḥ'). The 'Viṣṇudharmottara' describes Kalkī as two-armed with a sword in his raised hand, riding on horseback, and should be depicted in an angry mood ('Khaḍgodyatakarah krudho hayārūḍho mahābalaḥ | Mlecchocchedakarah Kalkī dvibhujah parikīrtitah'). But the 'Vaikhāṇasāgama' description of Kalkin is interesting on account of the fact that of the two varieties of his images, one should be horse-faced, and the other with the face of man; his four hands should carry 'cakra', 'śaṅkha', 'khaḍga' and 'khetaka' and he should be fierce-looking; his 'kautukabera' should be like an ordinary four-armed Viṣṇu image. These different descriptions of Kalkin are not all illustrated in plastic or pictorial form, the only variety almost invariably represented there is the two-armed one shown on horseback with a sword in raised right hand, the left holding the reins of the prancing horse. Separate figures of this Avatāra are unknown to me; some reliefs showing a deity riding on horseback with a drinking cup in his hand and accompanied by many attendants, both male and female, several of them playing on music, were identified before as Kalkin. B. B. Bidyabīnōd, however, correctly explained the reliefs as standing for Revanta, the son of Sūrya ('J. A. S. B.', 1909, p. 391).

### III

#### OTHER FORMS AND MINOR AVATĀRAS OF VIṢṆU, GARUDA AND ĀṬUDHAPURUṢAS

The principal types of the general, emanatory and incarnatory forms of Vāsudeva-Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu have been discussed in the previous chapters. I shall now deal with the other forms of the composite god mythologically associated with the one or other of his aspects, which are found in early and late Vaiṣṇava shrines. Occasional references to the lists of incarnations contained in some Pāñcarātra texts is necessary for the correct identification of a good many reliefs associated with this cult. The necessity of this task will be apparent if we refer to the fact that even such a competent scholar like the late T. A. G. Rao could describe one of the compositions in the side niches of the Gupta temple at Deogarh as representing Śiva as mahāyogī, when it really stood for two of the minor Avatāras of Viṣṇu, Nara and Nārāyaṇa. I have already referred to in the previous chapters to the real character of Garuḍa, the mount of Viṣṇu ; here I intend to discuss not only some of the later myths connected with him, but also trace the evolution of the hybrid form in which he is usually represented. The personified representations of the weapons and emblems—especially the Viṣṇuite ones, though already briefly noticed by me, require a detailed study in this chapter.

One of the principal emanatory forms of Vāsudeva is Pradyumna, the son of Kṛṣṇa born of Rukmiṇī. He was, in his former birth, Kāmadeva known under different names such as Manmatha, Manasija, Anaṅga, Madana, Smara etc., all of which explain the basic idea underlying this Brāhmaṇical god. Desire which arises in one's mind is regarded as one of the six enemies of man ; desire and wrath, as the 'Bhagavadgītā' tells us, are born of the strand of energy ( 'Rajoguṇa' ) and they are greatly devouring and greatly sinning.<sup>1</sup> But desire was at

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1. 'Bhagavadgītā', Ch. III, verse 37 : 'Kama eṣa krodha eṣa rajoguṇa samudbhavaḥ | Mahāśano mahāpāpmā viddhyenamiha vairiṇam'. The 'Gītā' further tells us, 'As a fire is obscured by smoke, as a mirror by dirt, as the embryo by the womb, so by this is this world obscured' ( 38 ). Knowledge is obscured by this, the perpetual foe of him who knows, changing its shape at will ( or, in the form of desire,— 'kāmarūpeṇa' ), O son of Kuntī, a fire insatiable. The senses, the mind and the reason are said to be its base ; by these it obscures knowledge and deludes the embodied soul'. The English rendering is by W. D. P. Hill.

the root of the whole creation which grew out of nothingness; the celebrated Nāsadiya sūktā of the 'R̥gveda' (X. 129, v. 4) says that 'Desire first arose in It (that one) which lay void wrapped in a husk (or in nothingness), which was the primal germ of mind; (and which) the wise, seeking by their intellect, have discovered in their heart to be the bond between non-entity and entity' ('Kāmastadagre samavarttatādhi manaso retaḥ prathamam yadāsīt | Sato bandhūn asati niravinda hṛdi pratiṣya kavayo maṇṣā'). In the passages of the 'Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa' and the other texts dealing with creation, the creative acts of Prajāpati are constantly said to have been preceded by desire; 'so'kāmayata', he desired. In the doctrinal tenets of the Pāñcarātra and other religious systems, one of the three primary causes of creation is Icchāśakti which is the same as Kāma or Desire. Muir was the first to notice that Kāma appears as a personified deity for the first time in the 'Atharva Veda' (IX, 2). In the Buddhist literature, both Pāli and Sanskrit, Māra variously named as Vasavatti-Māra, Namuci, Pāpiyān, Kāmadhāturāja, Kṛṣṇa, Piśuna etc., plays an important part as the arch tempter. He is the ruler of the highest of the six Kāmadevaloka heavens, the Paranimita-Vasavatti (Paranirmita-Vaśavartin) Devaloka. The Buddhist texts generally speak of him as riding on an elephant named Girimekhalā accompanied by his wives or daughters ('Mārabadhu, Mārakāyikā'), the three principal of them being differently known as Taṇhā (Tṛṣṇā), Ārati and Rāga, or Tṛṣṇā, Ārati and Rati ('Lalita Vistara'), or as Tṛṣṇā, Pṛīti and Rati ('Buddhacarita'); he is sometimes described as the wielder of the discus ('cakra'), as when several of his attempts to unseat Siddhārtha from the Vajrāsana beneath the Bodhitree failed, he cast his discus weapon at the great man, but it became a garland of flowers.<sup>1</sup> Kṛṣṇa, mentioned as

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1. Kern, 'Manual of Indian Buddhism,' p. 20. Kern says about Māra, "Māra Pāpimā, the usual name of the fiend in Pāli, originally it appears synonymous with the 'Mṛtyuḥ Pāpmā' of the Vedic texts, has with the Buddhists become the incarnation of Evil. His connection with Death is further exemplified by his being identified with Maccurīja, in 'Theragāthā, vs. 411. . . . A wellknown synonymous term is Namuci. His identification with Smara is founded upon his being the ruler of the highest Kāmaloka; hence he is termed Kāmeśvara, 'Lalita Vistara' p. 427" (ibid, p. 20, f. n. 2). The attributive epithet 'pāpiyān' or, 'pāpmā' should be equated with the one named, 'mahāpāpmā' given to Kāma in the 'Bhagavadgītā' passage noticed above.

another denomination of the Evil one and the discus alluded to as one of his attributes in the Buddhist literature show that the association of Kāmadeva with the cult of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa was well known to its authors. In the epic and Purāṇic texts, the mythology about Kāma is much developed ; the oft-repeated story about his having been burnt to ashes by Śiva, because he tried to excite passion in the latter's mind, explains his particular name Anaṅga meaning 'one without a body'. The destruction of Kāma or Madana by Śiva is reminiscent of the defeat of Māra by Buddha. Some of the Purāṇas tell us that after Kāma was thus destroyed, he was born again as Pradyumna, the son of Kṛṣṇa, and the story of his union with Rati, his consort in his former birth and now born as the wife of Śambara, the demon, is elaborately recounted in them. The Gupta inscriptions record many allusions to Kāmadeva, the god of love, his two wives Prīti and Rati, his bow of flowers, his destruction by Śiva and his banner of flowers. In the Mandasor stone inscription of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman of the Mālava years 493 and 529, the city of Dasapura is described as 'beautiful being embraced by two charming rivers with tremulous waves as if it were the body of the god Smara embraced in secrecy by his wives Prīti and Rati, possessed of heaving breasts'; Mahārāja Bandhuvarman is described as resembling in beauty, 'even though he was not adorned with ornaments, a second Kāmadeva armed with the bow that is made of flowers'.<sup>1</sup> The characteristic attributes of Manmatha in Brāhmaṇical texts are a bow and an arrow ; the bow is sometimes described as made of flowers (so one of his names is Puṣpadhanvā) and at other times, especially in iconographic literature, as made of a sugar-cane. In the early known representations in Buddhist

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1. J. F. Fleet, 'C. I. I', 'Vol. III, pp. 81, 83, 85—7 : (1) 'Yadbhātyabhiramayasariddvayena capalormiṇā samūpagūḍhaṃ rahasi kuśāsālinībhyāṃ Prīti-Ratibhyāṃ Smarāṅgamiva' ; (2) 'Śrīgāramūrtirabhibhātyanalamkṛtopi rūpeṇa yaḥ Kusumacāpa iva dvitīyaḥ'. The same inscription refers to the destruction of Kāmadeva by Hara and enumerates the flowers of the five trees and creepers such as Āśoka, Ketaka, Sindhūvara, Atimuktaka and Rodhra as forming his five arrows ; Kāma's another name is Pañcāsara on account of the number of his arrows.

art, a bow is very often placed in the hands of Kāmadeva.<sup>1</sup> A Lorian Tangai relief in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, shows the Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa scene in profile; just in front of Siddhārtha riding on Kanthaka is a male figure wistfully looking up at the rider, with another figure just behind him. Grünwedel thus remarks about the relief, 'two figures, one of them holding a bow (possibly Māra) stand in front, apparently addressing Siddhārtha' ('Buddhist Art,' p. 103, fig. 53). The bow is the characteristic emblem of Māra (Kāmadeva), and there is little doubt that this particular Gandhāra sculpture illustrates the scene of Māra trying to seduce Buddha from his firm resolve of renouncing the worldly life. In a painting in Cave No. 1 at Ajanta, Māra fully decorated with ornaments, grasping a bow and an arrow in his hands accompanied by a host of his daughters or consorts in lascivious attitudes, and other demoniacal male attendants, tries to unseat Buddha from the Vajrāsana (Griffith, 'Ajanta', Vol. 1, pl. VIII). So, the characteristic attribute of Māra seems to have been well-established by the early centuries of the Christian era and it is presumable that in the plastic representations of Kāmadeva, its Brāhmaṇical counterpart, this was also the case. This is borne out by the very interesting terracotta in the collection of the Mathura Museum (No. 2552) of about the 1st century A.D.; it shows the god Kāmadeva standing in a flowery field with a sheaf of arrows in the right hand and a long sugar-cane bow ('ikṣu-dhanu') in the left hand. He is standing upon the chest of a young man who is in a supplicating attitude. V. S. Agrawala helped by Dr. Johnston identified the scene with an old legend about Kāmadeva, in which the princess Kumudvatī fell in love with a young fisherman named Śūrpaka who did not return her love, till he was conquered by Kāmadeva; the plaque most probably depicts the particular part

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1. The relief on the right side of the vihāra facade at Bhaja shows a royal personage with a standard-bearing attendant behind him, both seated on an enormous elephant; the main figure wears a long garland which it holds with its left hand its right hand holding some indistinct object. Scholars are almost unanimous in the identification of the principal figure as Indra. It is probable that this view is correct; but as we have seen above the elephant was also the mount of Māra and the possibility of its identification as Māra is not very remote. The object held in the right hand of the figure if distinct could have given us the right clue. Johnston is of opinion that it stands for Māra ('J. I. S. O. A', Vol. VII pp. 5-6.)

of the episode when Śūrpaka was overcome by Kāmadava.<sup>1</sup> One of the special cognisances of Kāmadeva-Pradyumna is a Makaradhvaja and the Makara capitals of the 1st century B. C. found at Besnagar are the earliest extant sculptural remains associated with the god. He had also a flowery standard as his banner; thus, the Mandasor stone inscription of Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana of the Mālava year 589 refers to the god as Puṣpaketu ('C. I. I.', p. 154). T. A. G. Rao illustrates four specimens of the image of Manmatha, two belonging to the Hoysala school and one of the other two belonging to the 15th century A. D. The Halebidu sculpture shows the god 'standing with a bow of sugarcane in his left hand and an arrow of flowers in the right hand. To the left of Manmatha is the figure of his wife Rati holding a fruit in her right and a lotus in her left hand. On the right of Manmatha may be seen his standard-bearer holding with both of his hands the banner peculiar to this Hindu god of love'.<sup>2</sup> A very interesting figure of Kāmadeva, recognisable as such from the disproportionately long and heavy sugarcane bow and arrow in his hands and his flower garland, is shown standing in a 'tribhaṅga' pose on a double-petalled lotus; the artist has cleverly depicted the coquettish smile on his lips; two female figures, probably his consorts Rati and Prīti, stand in graceful pose one on either side of him; the partially pointed stele is tastefully carved ('A.S.I.A.R.', 1911-12, pp. 152-3 & plate). This piece of sculpture, which was found in north Bengal and presented to the Indian Museum by B. C. Law, reminds us of one from Deopara now in the Rajshahi Museum. In the latter, the richly decorated central figure is shown in a similar position, holding the long sugarcane bow and the tip of a three pronged arrow-like object with his left and right hands, accompanied by a waterpot-carrying female figure and a male with a quiver full of arrows on the proper right and left respectively; just below the 'pañcaratha' pedestal is a tiny animal (? rat)

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1. 'J. I. O. S. A.', Vol. V, p. 130. Aśvaghoṣa refers to the legend in his Kāvya, 'Buddhacarita', XIII, 11, and 'Saundarānanda', VIII, 44, which, as may be inferred, must have been very popular in his days.

2. T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.', Vol. I, pp. 278-79, pl. LXXXII, fig. 1. The 15th century A. D. sculpture in the Viśvanāthasvāmin temple at Tenkasi shows Manmatha with four hands, in three of which he holds his flowery arrows and in the fourth carries his sugarcane bow.



couchant. Kramrisch describes the latter sculpture as a Śivaitic deity; but the above two sculptures when studied side by side leave little doubt that both represent the same god, though the couchant animal in the case of the latter can not be satisfactorily explained. The Rajshahi Museum specimen is to be dated in the end of the 12th century A. D., while the former sculpture is a little earlier in point of date.<sup>1</sup>

The 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā' contains one of the earliest descriptions of Kāmadeva-Pradyumna; it says that Pradyumna should hold a bow and should be handsome in appearance and Śāmba another son of Kṛṣṇa should hold a mace. It even goes to the length of describing the images of the wives of these two sons of Kṛṣṇa. According to it, they should carry a sword and a shield in their hands; it thus appears that images of Śāmba and Pradyumna as well as those of their wives—evidently the latter were shown as attendant figures—were prevalent during the Gupta period.<sup>2</sup> In the various extant reliefs depicting Pradyumna-Kāmadeva accompanied by his wife or wives, the latter are not depicted as holding a sword and a shield. But it must be observed that most if not all of such sculptures so far discovered belong to the late mediaeval and modern periods. The 'Viṣṇudharmottara' describes Pradyumna as identical with Vāsudeva in appearance, but holding a bow in place of a wheel and an arrow in place of a mace; thus it appears that a bow is placed in the left hand and an arrow in the right hand (ch. 85, vv. 24 & 35-6—'Cakrasthāne bhaviccāpo gadāsthāne tathā śaraḥ..... Cāpabāṇadharāḥ kāryaḥ Pradyumnaśca sudarśanaḥ | Rājandurvādalaśyāmaḥ śvetavāsa madotkataḥ'). The same text describes the images of Aniruddha and Śāmba; according to it, the former should be made like Vāsudeva in appearance, but holding a shield 'carma' in place of a wheel and a sword in stead of a mace; the shield should be (circular) like a wheel and the sword should be long; .....the respective banners of the

1. 'A.S.I.A.B.', 1934-5, p. 79. 'Rūpam,' No. 40, Kramrisch, Pāla and Sena Sculpture, fig. 38.

2. 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā,' ch. 57. v. 40: 'Śāmbaśca gadāhastāḥ Pradyumnaścāpabhṛt surūpaśca | Anayoḥ striyaḥ ca kāryaḥ khetakanistriṃśadhāriṇyaḥ.' Utpala comments on this verse that Śāmba, is two-armed and Pradyumna is the same as Kāmadeva; 'khetaka' is a shield and 'nistriṃśa' a sword ('khaḍga'). Thus, Pradyumna-Kāmadeva's wives hold in their hands a sword and a shield.

gods should be on their left sides ; they should be endowed with good banners which should be fixed to staffs. As regards Śāmba it expressly says that he should be made with a mace in hand and should be specially beautiful ( 'Śāmbaḥ kāryo gadāhastāḥ surūpaśca viśeṣataḥ'—v. 77 )<sup>1</sup> The wives of Pradyumna, Śāmba and Aniruddha should be shown standing sword in hand by the side of their husbands. The text seems to be somewhat corrupt here ; it reads—'Khaḍgahastau ca kartavyau striyo veṣau tu pārśvayoḥ'. In verses 74-5 reference is made to Rukmiṇī and Satya-bhāmā, the wives of Kṛṣṇa, then after enumerating the details of the image of Pradyumna, Śāmba and Aniruddha, the Purāṇa incorporates the verse just quoted ; the reading should be emended as 'Khaḍgahastāśca kartavyāḥ striyasteṣāṃ tu pārśvayoḥ'. Gopala Bhatta describes Kāmadeva just after Pradyumna in the following manner : 'Kāmadeva should be made with eight hands holding a conch shell, a lotus, a bow and an arrow, his eyes oblique with inebriety ; his four wives, Rati, Prīti, Manda-(or Mada)śakti and Ujjvalā, should be very beautiful and his remaining four hands should be placed on their breasts ; his banner or cognisance should be an alligator with the face marked by five arrows'.<sup>2</sup> Another very interesting description of the god of love is given in the 'Matsyapurāṇa' : 'Now I shall describe two-armed Kusumāyudha ( he whose weapon is a flower ) ; on his side is Aśvamukha ( one with the face of a horse, a Kinnara ) with the 'Makara' banner ; in his right hand is a flowery arrow and a flowery bow is in his left ; Prīti with edibles in her hand is

1. 'Viṣṇudharmottara,' ch. 85, vv. 25-8 : 'Etadeva tathā rūpaṃ Aniruddhasya kārayet | Padmapatrābhā-vapuṣo raktāmbaḥradharasya tu | Cakrasthāne bhavectoarma gadāsthāne'sirevaca | Carma śyāocakrarūpeṇa prāṃsuḥ khaḍgo vidhīyate || Cakradīnāṃ svarūpāṇi kiñcinmūrdhasu darśayet' ( this line shows that all the 'āyudhas' of the respective 'Vyūhas' should be shown in their personified forms and miniatures of the natural forms of the weapons should be shown on the top of the personifications ). 'Ramyānyāyudharūpāṇi cakradīnyeva Yādava || Vāmapārśvagatāḥ kāryā devānāṃ pravaraḥ dhvajāḥ | Svapatākāyutārājanyaṣṭisthāste yatheritāḥ'.

2. 'Haribhaktivilāsa,' vilāsa 18, : 'Kāmadevastu kartavyo rūpeṇāpratimobhūvi | Aṣṭabāhuḥ sa kartavya śāṅkhaḥpadmavihṅgaṇaḥ | Cāpabāṇadharāścaiva madakuñcitālocanaḥ | Rati Prītistathāśaktir—Manda ( or Mada ) śaktistathojjvalā | Catasrastasya kartavyāḥ patnyorūpamanoharāḥ | Catvāraśca karastasya kāryā bhāryāstanopagāḥ | Ketuśca makarḥ kāryaḥ pañcabāṇamukhomahān'. No figure of Kāmadeva, however, corresponding to the above description is known.

placed to his right and Rati is to his left ; on his left also are shown a bed with cranes (?) and Paṭa, Paṭaha, Kharah, Kāmātura, a water tank (?) and Nandana forest ; the god Kusumāyudha should be very beautiful and should be shown with a slight bend in his body and his face lit up by a wondering smile.<sup>1</sup> No sculptures corresponding to the above two descriptions are known ; the manner in which Kāmadeva is described in these passages seems to suggest a pictorial presentation—either on canvas or on walls as frescoes (‘citrajā-paṭe kuḍye’)—of the whole theme.

Images of Śāmba have not been recognised among the extant Vaiṣṇava sculptures of the early and late periods. The Mora well inscription distinctly proves that such images were made and worshipped in the first century of the Christian era. Sculptures nos. E21 and E22 in the collection of the Mathura Museum, which were found at Mora, were supposed by Lüders to stand for two of the five Vṛṣṇi heroes mentioned in the inscription. One of these might represent Śāmba ; but they are in such a mutilated state that nothing can be said with certainty except that they were not secular figures. I have tried to find some images of this god who was originally a man, among a class of sculptures of the Kushan period from Mathura. These are seated figures, some shown riding in a chariot drawn by four horses, while in the case of others the chariot is either completely absent or only faintly suggested. These figures usually dressed according to the northern mode (‘udīcyaveśa’) hold in their two hands either lotus flowers, or a mace, a sword and other indistinct objects. They are generally described by modern scholars as so many images of Sūrya or statues of the Kushan kings. Some of these latter might represent Śāmba, and his northern dress and other solar features can be explained by his mythical association with the

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1. ‘Athūtaḥ sampravakṣyāmi dvibhujam Kusumāyudham | Pārśve cāśvamukham tasya makaradhvajasaṃyutapī | Dakṣiṇe puṣpabāṇaṇca vāme puṣpamayam dhanuḥ | Prītiḥ syāddakṣiṇe tasya bhojanopaskarāṇvitam | Ratiśca vāmapārśve tu śayanam sārāsāṇvitam | Paṭaśca Paṭahaścaiva Kharah Kāmāturastathā | Pārśvato jalavāpīca vanaṁ Nandanameva ca | Suśobhanaśca kartavyo bhagavān Kusumāyudhaḥ | Saṃsthānamīṣadvakram syādvismayasmitavaktrakam’.

north-Indian Sūrya cult ; in fact one type of the sun images, as the 'Varāhapurāṇa' tells us, was known as Śāmbāditya. A Mathura sculpture is described by Coomaraswamy as wearing 'purely Indian costume, torso nude, and holding in the left hand a cup, and flanked by two small figures of women'; it is identified by him as a Bacchanalian Yakṣa. It, however, may stand for Śāmba ; here the wine-cup clearly emphasises his inebriety mentioned in the epic and Purāṇic texts. The club or mace in the right hand of such figures fully tallies with early iconographic description of this god mentioned above. It appears that Śāmba fell out of favour due to some reason or other and his images were no longer made in the post-Gupta period. We seldom find any description of his image in the later iconographic texts.<sup>1</sup>

Such varieties of Viṣṇu images as Vaikuṇṭhanātha, Viśvarūpa, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Ādimūrti, Jalaśāyin, Vatapatraśāyin etc. have been accounted for by me in connection with the standing, seated and recumbent types of the Dhruvaberas of Viṣṇu, they need not be described again at length. But before the topic of the images of the other Avatāras is taken up, we refer to a few other representations of Viṣṇu themes, early extant specimens of some of which are wellknown. One of the mythological stories oft quoted in Vaiṣṇava literature is about the deliverance of Gajendra, the lord of the elephants, who prayed to Viṣṇu while he was in duress. It is narrated in the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa' ( Skandha VIII, ch. 2-4 ) that once Gajendra went to sport with his wives into a beautiful lake in the Trikūṭa mountain, when his leg was caught by a fierce crocodile, 'grāha', and he began to be dragged into the deep waters of the lake. He himself as well as his spouses tried their utmost to get rid of the terrific animal, but their efforts were all in vain. Gajendra in this sad plight intensely prayed to Lord Viṣṇu to free him from the clutches of the monster and the god in compassion came to his aid. He was delivered by Viṣṇu and the 'grāha' was killed ; the latter, however, proved to be no other than the Gandharva king

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1. These points were discussed at length by me in my article 'Images of Śāmba' in 'J. I. S. O. A.', vol. XII, pp. 129-34.

Huhu who was cursed by the sage Devala for some offence to be born as a crocodile. Huhu was also thus delivered of the curse and he regained his previous form after the destruction of his crocodile form. The Purāṇa further says that Gajendra was the old Pāṇḍya king Indradyumna, a devotee of Viṣṇu and the greatest of the Drāviḍas, in one of his previous births ; he was cursed by the sage Agastya to be born as an elephant, because he failed to pay his respects to the sage and his disciples as he was preoccupied in the deep meditation of Viṣṇu. The story of the Gajendramokṣa or Kari-varada ( Viṣṇu delivering Gajendra or conferring his boon on the elephant ) seems to be derived from some such nucleus as is found illustrated in one of the medallions at Bharhut and labelled by the Bhārhut artist as 'Nāga Jātaka'. The story, incorporated in the later 'Jātakamālā' as 'Kakkaṭa Jātaka' ( Fausboll, 'Jātakamālā' No. 266 ) narrates how the elephant ( really the Buddha, in one of his previous births ) was attacked by a huge crab when he had entered into a pond to sport with the she-elephants and how he was saved by the efforts of himself and his wives and the crab was destroyed. Rao tells us that 'as a deliverer of Gajendra, Viṣṇu is praised in several places in the 'Divya Prabandha' of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava saints of southern India, and the temple of Varadarāja at Kāñchī is one of the most famous Vaiṣṇava temples in the Madras Presidency.<sup>1</sup> He illustrates this form of Viṣṇu by two pictures, one of a stone relief in the Mysore province and the other of an image found in the Varadarājāśvāmin temple at Dadikkombu ; the former shows the four-armed figure of Viṣṇu with his usual attributes ( he is in the act of hurling the 'cakra' with his back right hand for destroying the aquatic monster ) seated astride on the shoulders of his mount who is depicted as flying through the sky ; in the lower half of the relief is depicted the elephant with his head and trunk upraised in the act of praising the lord and his hind legs being devoured by the 'grāha', a tiny 'cakra' is carved on the back of the crocodile which is shown as partially severed, thus indicating that the hurled weapon had inflicted the wound and

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13. T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit', vol. I, p. 263 & pl. LXXX, figs. I & 2.

destroyed the monster ; a small human figure seated near its back with his hands in the 'añjali' pose shows the Gandharva king delivered of his curse ; in the lowermost part of the relief in the midst of the waters conventionally depicted by wavelines and aquatic plants is carved the figure of a man seated in 'Yogāsana', whose identity is not quite clear ( does he represent the Pāṇḍya king Indradyumna ? ). This very elaborate relief of the Hoysala style of sculpture is of unique iconographic interest. The other relief reproduced by Rao shows an eight-armed image of Viṣṇu astride on Garuḍa ; but as the figures of Gajendra and the crocodile are not shown, it is not clear why it should be described as Gajendramokṣa or Karivarada. The earliest representation of this motif, however, is to be found in central India ; inside the niche on the north side of the Gupta temple at Deogarh, a composition presents 'Viṣṇu, with a club in his right hand, rising from the ocean on the back of Garuḍa. In the waters below there is a Nāga king with a seven-hooded snake canopy, and a Nāga queen with a single-hooded snake over head, both with folded hands in adoration. Besides them there is an elephant, with his feet bound together by the tail of the Nāga standing amidst a profusion of lotus flowers. Above all are four flying figures, two males and two females, holding a canopy over Viṣṇu'.<sup>1</sup> This is Cunningham's description of the relief and there is no doubt that it illustrates an earlier version of the same theme as current in this part of India in the 6th century A. D. A similar representation of the above theme is found on a panel of the much later Varāha temple in the same place; the exact date of the temple can not be ascertained, but an inscription of the 16th century A. D. incised on one corner of the shrine proves that it was in use up till that time. One panel representing Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu was visible above the mound at the time of the excavation of the temple ; another panel, beside the above two, depicting the penance of Nara and Nārāyaṇa in Badarikāśrama, was recovered during the excavations. Marshall observes, 'The fact that similar sculptures are inserted in the walls of the Gupta temple (at Deogarh) lends' corroboration to

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1. Cunningham, 'A.S.B.', Vol. X, p. 107, pl. XXXV. W. Cohn, 'Indische Plastik', pl. 24.

Hargreaves' suggestion that the temple was an imitation of the Gupta temple'.<sup>1</sup> The couple with the snake hoods with their hands in the 'añjali' pose may represent Ādiśeṣa and his wife, but they may also depict Nāgendra with his wife praising the lord after he has been delivered by the god. Nāga according to the lexicons has several meanings of which two are apposite here :—one is elephant, and the other, snake; the Deogarh artists seem to have made use of both the meanings in the illustration of the theme in the above two panels.

The iconographic presentation of Viṣṇu as Yajñapuruṣa (Sacrifice personified) was commented on by me in another context; it was shown there how an allegorical description of the Vedic sacrifice and the several acts associated with it were later utilised by the sectarian worshippers of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu for the representation of this god as Yajña<sup>2</sup>. The equation of Viṣṇu with the sacrifice is as old as the period of the Brāhmaṇas and thus the iconographers could utilise the Vedic passage for their purpose. No early sculptures corresponding to this description is known to me either in the north or south of India; the Conjeevaram sculpture referred to above is late and does not represent the god as a bull unlike the description of Yajña in the Vedic passage. Viṣṇu is anthropomorphically presented there with four horns, three legs, two heads and seven hands, with the figure of a bull carved behind him. H. Krishna Sastri describes the particular figure as Agni, but on account of the close similarity of the description and the relief, it is better to identify the latter as that of Viṣṇu as Yajña. In the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa' lists of the twenty-two incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu, Yajña occupies the seventh position. The 'Vaikhānasāgama' evidently following the Ṛgvedic passage describes this avatāra as four-horned, two-headed, seven-armed, the hands holding 'śaṅkha', 'cakra' 'ājyapātra' (i. e. the pot containing clarified butter), 'darvī', 'sruk', 'sruva', and 'juhu' ( the last four different kinds of sacrificial ladles ), and as three-legged; it further lays down that the

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1. 'A.S.I.A.R.', 1917-18, pt. I, p.7, pl. 1 (B), No. 2271.

2. 'The Development of Hindu Iconography', pp. 49, 59-60.

female figures standing for Svāhā and Svadhā (oblations offered to the gods and manes—as also the particular sound with which these are offered) should be to his right and left (the text also says that all gods are manifest in Yajñeśa—‘Yajñeśaṃ sarvadevamamayam’). According to this text Yajñeśa is an Āvaraṇadevatā and it should be placed facing west on the north-west corner of the enclosure in a Vaiṣṇava temple.<sup>1</sup>

Several composite forms in which not only Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa but also other elements are present have to be referred to here. Such icons undoubtedly portray attempts at a rapprochement between the adherents of the rival creeds. Many and various are the Purāṇic stories in which sectarian bitterness and jealousy is the keynote; but tales also are not wanting which emphasise that the central cult pictures of the rival creeds are equal in importance and they only represent the different aspects of the one godhead. The latter kind of Purāṇic myths also enjoin that those devotees who pay equal homage to Viṣṇu and Śiva (Hari and Hara) and who do not perceive any difference between the two are specially favoured by the god. Such icons as Hari-Hara or Hari-Śaṅkara illustrate this mental attitude, and comparatively early images of the former are known; this type of composite image is ideologically similar to Dattātreya (Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha) and Brahmā-Viṣṇu images to be shortly noticed. Two of the earliest Hari-Hara reliefs are at Badami; on the east or left wall of the verandah of the main cave (No.I) is carved a fine standing image of this composite god. ‘The Śiva side is indicated by the presence of a battle-axe with a snake in the hands of the god and the bull-headed attendant Nandin on its (proper) right side, standing with a trident. The Viṣṇu side of the figure (on the proper left) is indicated by a conch in one of the hands and a Garuḍa, standing near his leg, with his hands folded over his breast’. Pārvatī and Lakṣmī stand by the side of the parts indicative of their respective consorts, which are also characterised by the individual features of the two divinities, viz.

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1. T. A. G. Rao, ‘op. cit.’, vol. I. App. C., p. 55.



matted hair with crescent, snake ornaments and skull garland in the case of the Śiva half, and a jewelled crown and ornaments in the case of the Viṣṇu half. Of the four hands of the god, the lower right is broken, the lower left placed on a knot of his upper garment while the back hands carry a battle-axe with snake and a conch-shell in the manner described above. The other relief found in Cave No. IV is almost the same in its iconographic features.<sup>1</sup> Most of the sculptures representing this composite god are carved in the above manner. A unique mediaeval sculpture of Hari-Hara hailing from Bihar and now exhibit No. 8591 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, shows the god attended by Sūrya on one side and Buddha on the other ; this composition, otherwise unknown, is perhaps expressive of the mental attitude of the devotee to whom not only Śiva and Viṣṇu were of equal importance but Sūrya and Buddha, the cult pictures of two other sects, Saura and Bauddha, were also of secondary importance.<sup>2</sup> T. A. G. Rao quotes several iconographic texts which describe the image of Haryardha, but in none of them Sūrya and Buddha are mentioned as attendant deities ; but it must be observed that all these describe the details of only the main figure, few referring to the accessory ones (some of them mention the respective mounts of the two gods, Hari and Hara). Every one of them, however, lays down that Hari should be shown in the left or female half and Hara on the right or the male half and the extant sculptures invariably conform to this dictum; this may have an hidden allusion to the Purāṇic story of Viṣṇu's assumption of the female form of Mohinī (enchantress) in distributing the nectar churned from the ocean between the Devas and Asuras, and Śiva's love for Viṣṇu in that beautiful form. The 'Śilparatna' text place a battle-axe and a conchshell in the right and left hands of the god and the description closely fits with the Badami sculptures noted above; but the 'Viṣṇudharmottara'

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1. R. D. Banerjee, 'Bas reliefs of Badami', 'M.A.S.I.' No.25, pp. 5, 37. The Cave No. 1 bas-relief has been described and illustrated by T.A.G. Rao in the second volume of his book, (pp. 334-5, pl. XCIX).

2. 'A. S. 1. A. R.', 1930-34, pp. 256-57, pl. CXXVII.d.

says that a boon, a trident, a wheel and a lotus should be held in order by the hands of the deity, and the bull (Nandin) should be shown on his right side and the king of the birds (Garuḍa) on the left.<sup>1</sup> The 'Matsyapurāṇa' which is Śaiva gives a detailed description of this composite god who is named by its author as Śiva-Nārāyaṇa; it mentions several varieties on the basis of the attributes shown in the hands of the Viṣṇu half.<sup>2</sup> The 'Agnipurāṇa' describes a twenty-armed polycephalous image of Viṣṇu known as Hari-Śaṅkara which name is the same as Hari-Hara and Śiva-Nārāyaṇa. The text says that Hari-Śaṅkara should be four-faced and twenty-armed, divided (?) into right and left halves, three-eyed, lying on waters on his left side, one of his legs held by his consort, praised by Vimalā and others, the four-faced Brahmā being placed on the lotus issuing from the navel. No mention is made, however, of the emblems to be shown in the different hands; we are simply informed that in the right hands should be placed a trident and a spear while in the left a mace and a wheel. But it definitely says that the auspicious (?) Rudra-Keśava body should be accompanied by Gaurī and Lakṣmī.<sup>3</sup> The text seems to be very much

1. Rao quoting from 'Viṣṇudharmottara,' 'op. cit.', II, App. B, p. 171; 'Kāryaṃ Hari-Harasyaṣṭi dakṣiṇārdhaṃ Sadāśivaḥ | Vāmamardhaṃ Hṛṣikeśaśvetanilākṛtiḥ kramāt | Varatṛisūlacakrāvjadhāriṇo bāhavaḥ kramāt | Dakṣiṇe vṛṣabhaḥ pārśve vāmabhāge vihaṅgarāt'. For other texts dealing with Hari-Hara images, cf. T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.', vol. II, App. B, pp. 163-71. Rao places this type under Śaiva images; I have included it under Viṣṇu to emphasise the ideological similarity of such images as Hari-Hara, Hari-Śaṅkara, Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha or Dattātreyā, and Brahmā-Viṣṇu.

2. 'Matsyapurāṇa', ch. 260, verses 21-27: 'Śiva-Nārāyaṇaṃ vakṣye sarvapaṇapranāśanam | Vāmārdhe Mādhavaṃ vidyāddakṣiṇe Śūlapāṇinam | Bāhuvayaṇca Kṛṣṇasya maṇikēyūrabhūṣitam || Śaṅkhacakraadharaṃ śāntamāraṅgūliviḥbhamam | Cakrasthāne gadāṃ vāpi pāṇau dadyāt gadābhṛtaḥ | Śaṅkhaṇcaivetare dadyāt kaṭyārdhaṃ bhūṣaṇojjvalam | Pītavastraparidhānaṃ carāṇaṃ maṇibhūṣaṇam || Dakṣiṇārdhe jaṭābbāramārdhendukṛtabhūṣaṇam | Bhujaṅgaḥāraṇavalayaṃ varadāṃ dakṣiṇaṃ karam | Dvitiyaṇcāpi kūrṇvitaṃ triśūlavaraḥhāriṇam | Vyālopaṇiṭasaṃyuktaṃ kaṭyārdhaṃ kṛttivāśasaṃ || Maṇiratnaśca saṃyuktaṃ pādāṃ nāgaṇibhūṣitam | Śiva-Nārāyaṇasyaivaṃ kalpayadrūpamuttamam'. It should be noted that the description, though much fuller than that given in the 'Viṣṇudharmottara', is somewhat similar as regards the Śiva half, different attributes being recommended in the case of the Viṣṇu half only.

3. 'Agnipurāṇa,' ch. 49, verses, 23-25: 'Viṃśadbāhuścaturvaktro dakṣiṇastho'tha (?) vāmāke | Trinetro vāmapārśvena śāyito Jalasāyapi || Striyā (should be Śrīyā) dhṛtatacarāṇo Vimalādyābhīṛḍitaḥ | Nābhīpadmacaturvaktro Hariśaṅkarako Hariḥ . . Śūlarṣṭidhāri dakṣe ca gadācakraadharaḥ pare | Rudra-Keśava-lakṣmāṅgo Gaurī-Lakṣmīsamantitah'.

confused ; it describes in a jumble three types of Viṣṇu images, viz. the eight-armed Trailokyamohana, the twenty (?) -armed Viśvarūpa and the twenty-armed Hari-Śaṅkara. The description is of a 'śayana' type of Viṣṇu ; but it must be observed that it is very awkward to depict such a type as lying in bed. The Rajputana Museum at Ajmere possesses a twenty-armed image which conforms to the above description to a very great extent, but it shows the god seated on Garuḍa ; the sculpture is, however, not older than a century or two.

Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha or Dattātreya images ought to be considered in this connection. The 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa' as well as the 'Sātvata Saṃhitā' lists of the Avatāras include this type and the 'Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa' gives at some length the story of this incarnatory form of Viṣṇu in which the members of the orthodox Brāhmaṇical triad are said to be manifest. A leprous Brāhmaṇ of Pratiṣṭhāna, Kauśika by name, was cursed one day by the sage Anī-Māṇḍavya to die before he saw the next sun-rise. The virtuous and chaste wife of the leper, who adored her husband like a deity, prevented the dawning of the next day through her great merit. This set the gods athinking and they approached Anasūyā, the pious wife of the sage Atri to persuade the leper's wife to revoke her spell ; Anasūyā was successful in her task and the lady revoked her curse on condition that the life of her husband was spared. This condition was fulfilled, Kauśika was cured of his fell disease and rejuvenated ; pleased with the virtue of his wife, the Brāhmaṇical triad condescended to be born in her womb as Dattātreya in whom the characteristic traits of all of them became manifest. Dattātreya seems to have been a famous sage in actual life, who was apotheosised ; the mythology as well as its illustration, however, interestingly emphasises the compromise between the sects. T. A. G. Rao illustrates this type by as many as four pictures, two from south and two from north India. These can be broadly divided into two varieties—one in which the composite character of the deity can mainly be recognised by the presence of the three mounts of the triad, Garuḍa, Vṛṣabha and Haṃsa ( lotus in some instances ) on the pedestal of the image, while in the other, the three gods Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā are depicted either standing or seated side by side. The first type which

has sub-varieties under it generally goes by the name of Dattātreyā, while the second is usually described as Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha. The Rajputana Museum image illustrated by Rao ('op.cit., vol.I, pl. LXXII, fig. 2) depicts a beautiful four-armed standing image of Dattātreyā which carries in its upper right hand a 'śūla,' in the upper left a 'cakra' and in the lower left a water-vassel, while the lower right is broken; there are four attendant figures, two on either side (three appears to be male and one female), whose identity is not quite clear. The god wears the 'vanamālā' and the other usual ornaments characteristic of Viṣṇu; but on the pedestal we find two lotuses on the centre with a bull and Garuḍa on their proper right and left. In this particular image we not only see the respective deities indicated by the emblems in the hands of the images but also the pedestal figures, the swan being replaced here by the lotuses, (Brahmā's another name is Kṃala-Yoni). The above sculpture can be usefully compared with the later Cālukya one of Dattātreyā found at Badami and reproduced by T. A. G. Rao in his book (ibid, pl. LXXIII). The latter shows Viṣṇu seated in the Yogāsana pose, the front hands placed on the lap (the right one showing the 'jñānamudrā') and the back right and left hands carrying the 'cakra' and the 'śaṅkha' respectively; on the 'prabhāvalī' are carved the ten principal incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu. The composite character of the god, however, is signified by the carving of the Bull on the centre, Garuḍa on its proper right and a swan on its proper left; had these miniature figures been absent on the 'pīṭha,' one could easily have described the image as that of a simple Yogāsana Viṣṇu. A fragmentary sandstone relief of the mediaeval period, found at Etah and now in the collection of the provincial Museum, Lucknow, shows the three members of the orthodox Brāhmaṇical triad standing side by side with their characteristic iconographic features, each one of them accompanied by their respective attendants and mounts. This Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha sculpture is certainly better in execution than the other over-decorated one from Halebidu of the Hoysala school reproduced by T. A. G. Rao. Rao quotes two descriptions of Dattātreyā from 'Dattātreyakalpa' and 'Viṣṇudharmottara,' and one of Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha

from 'Rūpamaṇḍana.' The 'Viṣṇudharmottara' (ch. 85, v. 64) says that Dattātreya should be made like Vālmikī, be white in colour, wear matted locks, should be neither lean nor stout, and should be shown tranquil and engaged in austerities ('Gaurastu kāryo Vālmīkirjātāmaṇḍalardurḍṣaḥ | Tapasyābhirataḥ śānto na kṛṣaḥ na ca pīvaraḥ | Vālmīkirūpaṃ sakalaṃ Dattātreyaśya kārayet'). Thus, this text typically describing the sage Dattātreya in the act of performing austerities has not fully eliminated the human element underlying this concept. The 'Agnipurāṇa' text, however, definitely lays down that Dattātreya should be two-armed and have the goddess Śrī in his left lap (ch. 49, v.27-'Dattātreyo dvibāhuḥ syādvāmotsaṅge Śrīyā saha'); it thus typifies the sage as the god with his consort Śrī. The 'Rūpamaṇḍana' text, on the other hand, describes a joint mode of representing this so-called minor Avatāra of Viṣṇu, in which he is described as placed on one pedestal, embodied in an auspicious single form in which he has four faces and six hands, the right ones holding a rosary, a trident and a mace and the left ones, a water-vessel, a 'khaṭvāṅga' and a wheel; it should be noted that each two of these six attributes are associated with one particular member of the trinity ('Rūpamaṇḍana', ch. IV, vv. 32-3:-'Ekaṇiṭhasamārūḍhamekadehanivāsinam | Śaḍbhujam ca caturvaktram sarvalakṣaṇasamyutam | Akṣamālām triśūlam ca gadām kuryacca dakṣiṇe | Kamaṇḍalum ca khaṭvāṅgam cakram vāmabhujē tathā'). No images are known to me which can conform to the above descriptions from the various texts noted by me, though the standing image of Dattātreya from Ajmere described above partially conforms to the above description; in this case the three attributes, 'śūla,' 'cakra' and 'kamaṇḍalu', are associated with the three gods, the fourth, which is broken, might have held a rosary. T. A. G. Rao refers to a third mode - a more modern mode according to him - of representing Dattātreya; in it the god is shown as 'a human being with three heads and four arms, and as attended by four dogs of different colours, said to present the four Vedas, and also by a bull ('op. cit.', vol. I, p. 225).

I may refer in this connection to the crudely executed sculpture in the collection of the Indian Museum, originally found in north

Bengal and presented by B. C. Law to the Calcutta Museum. It shows a composite deity, Brahmā-Viṣṇu, which is unique from the iconographic point of view. Of the four faces of Brahmā only three are shown, his attributes 'sruk,' 'sruva,' 'akṣamālā' and 'kamaṇḍalu' are placed in the four hands; Viṣṇu's characteristic features, the attendant goddesses-Śrī and Puṣṭi, the Āyudhapuruṣas—Śaṅkha and Cakra, are clumsily executed on either side of the central figure who is also decorated by the 'vanamālā,' the special garland of Viṣṇu; on the pedestal are depicted the respective mounts of the two gods—a swan in the centre and the Garuḍa in the right ('A.S.I.A.R.', 1934-36, pp. 79-80). This composite sculpture falls in the same category as the Hari-Hara or Dattātreyā images; but it materially differs from the Dattātreyā or Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha types, as it not only fails to include some features of Hara in it, but of the emblems placed in its hands none is peculiar to Viṣṇu. It is very likely that the worshipper, for whose need this particular sculpture was made, was a staunch adherent of orthodox Vedism, by whom Śiva was not regarded as worthy of homage; a few Viṣṇuite elements, however, were incorporated in the cult object. I know of no text which describes such a type, of sculpture.

Some details about the more important among the many incarnatory forms which are outside the list of the stereotyped ten whose images and corresponding texts have been discovered, ought to be studied here. The 'Sātvata Saṃhitā' (also 'Ahibudhnyā' based on it) and the 'Bhāgavata Pūrāṇa' present a fully comprehensive list; the character of some of them is not quite clear from their names, while several others really depict either one of the forms of the principal types of Viṣṇu icons or refer to beings associated with Viṣṇu. Thus, Padmanābha and Madhusūdana in the 'Sātvata-Ahibudhnyā' list are mythologically associated with the Śeṣaśayana form which, as I have proved in a previous chapter, portrays the Nārāyaṇa element. The import of such names as Śaktyātman, Vidyādhīdeva, Kroḍātman, Kāntātman, Rāhujit, Pātālaśayana, Pārijāta-hara, and Pīyūṣaharaṇa is not very clear, and even when we can offer some explanation about a few of them,

their iconography remains undetermined.<sup>1</sup> Dhruva, the son of King Uttānapāda, was an earnest devotee of Viṣṇu; Vihaṅgama is none other than the mythical bird Garuḍa—the sun conceived as a bird—, while Viśvarūpa is based on the Virāṭarūpa shown by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna in the field of Kurukṣetra (Viśvarūpa images have been noticed in detail); Kālanemighna is identical with the monkey-god Hanumān, the principal devotee of Dāśarathi Rāma; Dharma, Vāgīśvara and Lokanātha may belong to the Buddhist pantheon. Leaving aside the above, our task is confined to the determination of the iconographic types of the following :- Kapila, Baḍavāvaktra (Hayagrīva), Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Vedavid (Vedavyāsa), Dattātreya and a few others. Of these Dattātreya (Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha) has just been noticed at some length. From the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa' list of 22 or 23 incarnations, the only name that does not seem to be included in the 'Sātvata' one is Puruṣa. Dharma in the above list, though reminiscent of Dharma, one of the three jewels (triratna-Dharma, Buddha and Saṅgha) in the Buddhist theology, is specially Vaiṣṇava in its characterisation.

The sage Kapila, the reputed author of the Sāṃkhya system, has always been assigned an important place in the Brāhmaṇic hierarchy and his name along with those of several other sages is frequently uttered by the orthodox Hindus in times of 'naimittika' ( occasional ) ritual ceremonies and during 'tarpaṇa'; they are regarded as the inaugurators of religion ( 'Sanakaśca Sanandaśca ṛṣiyaśca Sanātanaḥ | Kapilaśca Āsuriścaiva Boḍhuḥ Pañcaśikhastadā | ....dharmapravarttakāḥ' ). But the other human sages never attained the importance of Kapila, and the reason is obvious. There is no Indian religious system in the vast field of Brāhmaṇical Hinduism or even outside it, which did not utilise the Sāṃkhya speculations for its own purpose in some form or other; the 'Bhagavadgītā', the earliest treatise expounding the doctrines of the

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1. Kroḍātman perhaps refers to the boar incarnation, but Varāha is separately mentioned in the list; Kāntātman may stand for Manmatha-Pradyumna, the beautiful; Rāhujit, Pātālaśayan, Pārijātaḥara and Piyūṣaharaṇa are purely mythological without any definite iconography of their own; the meaning of Vidyādhideva and Śaktyātman is not clearly defined.

Bhāgavata cult expresses its indebtedness to them ( the word 'Sāṃkhya' is mentioned as many as seven times by its author ). The followers of the Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa cult were not tardy in recognising in the person of the great sage whose name was traditionally associated with the philosophic school, an incarnatory form of their own cult deity. I have already pointed out how the doctrine of Avatārahood of God was established in the time when the 'Bhagavadgītā' was composed. It is highly probable that the recognition of Kapila or who-soever was then regarded as the originator of the Sāṃkhya tenets as an Avatāra of the god has already been made in the same work ; when Arjuna expresses his bewilderment about Kṛṣṇa's holding discernment ( 'buddhi' or 'jñāna' ) as more important than work ( 'karma' ) and about his urging Arjuna to be engaged in violent action ( 'ghore karmaṇi' ), the Lord replies : 'In this world the twofold system was of old declared by me—that of the Sāṃkhyas with the method of knowledge, and that of the Yogins with the method of work'.<sup>1</sup> In the epic and Purāṇic literature the story of Kapila the sage and his association with the children of Sagara is elaborately recounted ; but in all the versions of the story he is invariably conceived as engaged in deep meditation and the performance of austere asceticism. Curiously enough Kapila is associated in the Pāñcarātra literature with Pradyumna. The 'Viṣṇudharmottara' tells us that 'it was Pradyumna who was embodied in the Kapila form due to 'vairāgya' ( indifference to worldly matters ) ; his two ( front ) hands are placed on his lap and the other two hands hold a conchshell and a discus ; he is seated on a lotus seat with his eyes closed in meditation ; the god Kapila should be made with a wealth of matted locks on his head, with the back of his shoulders and neck raised due to the checking of breath ( 'kumbhaka' process in the act of 'prāṇāyāma' ) and the soles of his feet endowed with lotus mark ; he should have deerskin sacred thread on his body and moustache ; .....the ancient man, the protector of the world and inaugurator of the Sāṃkhya should be medi-

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1. Bhagavadgītā, III, 3: "Lokesmīndvividhā niṣṭhā parā proktā mayānagha | Jñānayogena Sāṃkhyānām karmayogena Yoginām'.



tated on in the above manner'.<sup>1</sup> The 'Vaikhānasāgama' describes the god Kapila as eight-armed, holding a discus, a sword and a ploughshare, in his right hands ( the front right one being in the 'abhaya' pose ), while the left ones carry a conchshell, a noose, and a staff—the front left being in the 'kaṭihasta' pose ; the god should be attended by the figures of Gāyatrī and Sāvitrī ; according to this text, Kapila who is an embodiment of the Vedas is an 'āvaraṇadevatā' and should be placed in the south-east corner of a Vaiṣṇava shrine (Rao, 'op. cit.', vol. I, App. C, p. 54). I have not seen any image of Kapila corresponding to either of these numerous subsidiary figures in a Vaiṣṇava temple.

Vaḍavāvaktra or Hayagrīva ( the horse-faced one ) in the 'Sātvata' list of incarnations is one of the most important among the sundry other Avatāras of Viṣṇu, not only from the mythological and iconographic point of view, but also from the widespread acceptance of this god in the other cults of India as well as outside India. Like Gaṇapati, the other god of a hybrid form, the god-concept Hayagrīva migrated into such distant countries of Asia as China and Japan.<sup>2</sup> Hayagrīva first makes his clearly recognisable appearance in the epic literature of India. He was the deliverer of the Vedas from Madhu and Kaiṭabha, the two demons who stole them from Brahmā, and he restored the Vedas to Brahmā. In certain (presumably later) portions of the 'Mahābhārata', however, Hayagrīva appears also as the name of a demon, an ally of Tārakāsura (also of Naraka) who was an inveterate enemy of Viṣṇu and the other gods ; he was killed by Viṣṇu in the Tāraka war. It is narrated in the epic and Purāṇic literature that this demon was killed by Viṣṇu assuming this hybrid form in the same manner as he killed the demons Hiraṇyākṣa and Hiraṇyakaśipu in Varāha and Narasiṃha forms respectively. As Viṣṇu has this form, so the demon Hayagrīva, after his death in the hands of the former, assumes the shape of the horse-demon Keśin in the forest region of Yamunā to kill

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1. 'Viṣṇudharmottara' as quoted by T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.', vol. I., App. C. pp. 54-55.

2. R. H. Van Gulik has discussed at some length the history of this migration in his monograph 'The Mantrayānic Aspect of Horse-cult in China and Japan', E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1935. For my review of this work, refer to 'J. G. I. S.', Vol. III, pp. 201-06.

Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa another 'vibhava' of Viṣṇu. The killing of the Hayaṛāja i.e., Keśin, is referred to at least twice in the great epic, once in the Droṇaparvan (5. 3) and again in the Udyoga Parvan (30. 147). These multifarious myths were derived from earlier stories; the reference in the Udyoga Parvan (99) to the Hayaśīrṣa Āditya who, on every auspicious occasion, rises from the nether regions and fills the world called 'suvarṇa' with Vedic hymns, proves that this passage marks an early stage in the possible development of the idea of Hayagrīva Viṣṇu who was an Āditya, from the sun-horse conception of the Vedic period. Various hymns of the 'R̥gveda' refer to the horse-shaped Dadhikrā (Dadhikrāvan) who is none other than the Sun-god himself conceived in a theriomorphic form; reference also need be made, in this connection, to the Vedic Ṛṣi Ātharvaṇa Dadhyañc who was endowed with a horse's head by the Aśvins in order that the twin-gods might learn from the seer the 'madhuvidyā' which was taught to the sage by Indra or Tvaṣṭṛ. The epic and Purāṇic references to Hayagrīva, the restorer and the reciter of the Vedas, fully prove that he was primarily a deity presiding over knowledge and wisdom. This characteristic trait is throughout maintained in the Brāhmaṇical conception of the god<sup>1</sup>. Many of the iconographic descriptions of this god substantiate this view; thus the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' describes the eight-armed form of Hayagrīva as a part of Saṃkarṣaṇa ('Saṃkarṣaṇāṅga') in whom two of the six ideal 'guṇas', 'jñāna' and 'bala', are specially predominant. The element of fear underlying the character of this divinity though present to a certain extent never outweighs its primary traits. When Viṣṇu-Hayagrīva was adopted into the cult of Mahāyāna Buddhism as Vidyārāja Hayagrīva, an aspect of Avalokiteśvara, so early as the beginning of the 6th century A. D., this characteristic trait was given a new orientation. The

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1. Reference should be made to the number of late manuscripts on 'Mantra' and 'Mantra Kalpa' centering round Hayagrīva noticed by Kuṇḍaswami Sastri in 'Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts' (vol. VI, Part I.) for the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library; in the 'Hayagrīva kavaca' (said to have been taken from the 'Hayagrīva Tantra' we have: 'Om Hayagrīvāya śuklavarṇāya jñānamūrtaye omkāṛāya acyutāya Brahavidyāpradāyākāya svāhā'; the 'Hayagrīva stotra' begins with this couplet 'Jñānānandamayam devam nirmalasphaṭikākṛtim | Ādhāram sarvavidyānām Hayagrīvamupāmahe'.

Vidyārāja the king of the Vidyādhara, the carriers of magical knowledge or magic power, came gradually to be conceived as a divinity with terrific features chiefly invoked for the fulfilment of one's desires or for 'abhicāra' purposes, though its earlier placid aspect is not totally lost sight of. Certain Brāhmaṇical manuscripts of a late date lay down this fierce trait; thus, the 'Hayagrīvāstram' (Kuppuswami Sastri, 'ibid') begins with: 'Om āṃ hraum sphura sphura praṣphura praṣphura ghora ghoratara Hayagrīva ehi ehi surūpa kṣīragaura hayānane caṭa caṭa pracaṭa pracaṭa kaha kaha aśvavaktra bhrama bhrama bhrāmaya bhrāmaya bhaśmīkara bhaśmīkara etc. That this emphasis on the dire aspect of this god was laid under the influence of the Mantrayāna Buddhism is clearly proved by another manuscript in the same collection, 'Hayagrīvamālāmantra', which begins thus—'Athāto bhagavantam sarvatejonidhim sarvaduṣṭadurītavidhvamsinam mahāvidyārājārūpiṇam Hayaśīrasamāvartayisyāmi'.

Figures of Hayagrīva are not very common, though some late images are occasionally found. T. A. G. Rao illustrates one from the temple at Nuggehalli; it belongs to the Hoysala school and shows the eight-armed horse-faced god standing in 'ālīḍha' pose on a platform over the prostrate body of a demon who may be the demon Hayagrīva; the eight hands carry all the attributes usually placed in those of the eight-armed Viṣṇu images (this manner of arrangement of the attributes does not tally with the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' description which after enjoining that the 'śaṅkhā', 'cakra', 'gadā' and 'padma' should be shown in the four hands says that the remaining four hands should be placed on the heads of the four personified Vedas which were rescued from the nether regions by Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa in this form).<sup>1</sup> A late bronze figure of Hayagrīva, now in a private collection in Calcutta, shows the horse-faced god seated in 'paryāṅkāśana' on a double-petalled lotus pedestal; he is four-armed, the hands show from the lower right onwards—the 'vyākhyāna mudrā', a 'śaṅkha', a 'cakra', and a 'pustaka' (veda); he is endowed with 'kīrīṭama-

1. 'Viṣṇudharmottara,' ch. 80, vv. 4-6: 'Catvāraśca karāḥ kār्या Vedānām dehadhāriṇām | Devena mūrdhnivinyastā sarvābharatadhāriṇā | Aśvagrīveṇa devena purā Vedāḥ samuddhṛtāḥ | Vedā hṛtā dānavapuṅgavābhyām rasātālāddevavareṇa tena | Samuddhṛtā Yālavamsamukhya turaṅga-mūrdhni Puruṣottamena'.

kuṭa', and other usual ornaments. It should be noted that this image very characteristically illustrates the primary trait of the god noticed above. The 'Agnipurāṇa' description of Hayagrīva partially fits in with this figure ; according to it, the god should be four-armed holding a 'śaṅkha', a 'cakra', a 'gadā' and the 'veda', his left leg is placed on the Śeṣanāga while the right one is placed on a tortoise'. In the Indian Vajrayāna reliefs depicting some forms of Avalokiteśvara, Hayagrīva is one of the invariable attendants of the Bodhisattva ; but in them he is usually shown not with the head of a horse but as a wide and round-eyed pot-bellied fierce-looking figure (cf. the various Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara figures whose usual attendants are Hayagrīva, Sudhanakumāra, Tārā and Bhṛkuṭi Tārā).

The next two incarnatory forms are Nara and Nārāyaṇa. These two are regarded as the Sage-gods, and the second of them has a definite mythological character of its own, somewhat distinct from the cosmic god Nārāyaṇa, one of the constituent elements of the composite cult-picture of Vaiṣṇavism. A systematic account of these two is given for the first time in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the 'Mahābhārata' ; Nārada is said to have gone to the Badarikāśrama to see Nara and Nārāyaṇa, the two excellent old sage-gods who were engaged in the performance of austerities and who were centred in themselves and were upholders of a great vow (Śāntiparva, ch.344, v. 34 : 'Tataḥ sa dadṛṣe devau purāṇāvṛṣisattamau | Tapaścarantau sumahadātmaniṣṭhau mahā-vratau'). Then a characteristic description of the two gods is given : they were more effulgent in their brilliance than the sun, endowed with the auspicious Śrīvatsa mark and matted locks of hair ; their hands (literally arms) were like those of swans ('jālapādabhuja'—it is a 'Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa' referred to in the Buddhist literature as 'jālāṅgulihastapāda'), the soles of their feet marked with discus etc.<sup>2</sup> The great epic in the opening chapter of the Nārāyaṇīya also tells that Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa were the sons or forms of Dharma, the first two of whom

1. 'Agnipurāṇa', ch. 49, v. 26 : 'Śaṅkhaçakragadāvedapāṇīścāśvaśira-Hariḥ | Vāmapādo dhṛtaḥ (should be 'sthitah') Śeṣe dakṣiṇaḥ kūrmapṛṣṭhagaḥ |

2. The verses 35-38 enumerate some of the 'Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas' manifest in the bodies of Nara and Nārāyaṇa ; besides those noted above, the following are included : 'vyudhoraska' ( wide-chested ),

devoted themselves to the practice of austerities in the Badarikāśrama. The 'Vāmanapurāṇa' (ch. 6) gives the same story and the above four are represented as the sons of Dharma and Ahimsā ; R. G. Bhandarkar correctly observes that these four names were 'connected with the introduction of a new system of religion, not heterodox, which concerned itself with religiousness and non-slaughter of animals'.<sup>1</sup> The above observation justifies the suggestion that Nara and Nārāyaṇa are the same as Vāsudeva and Arjuna, the twin man-gods first mentioned in the sūtra of Pāṇini (IV, 3. 98 : 'Vāsudev-Ārjunābhyāṃ Vuñ').

Nara and Nārāyaṇa, as the gods especially associated with Vaiṣṇavism (if not already regarded as the two incarnations of Viṣṇu) were known in the Gupta period. The Gupta temple at Deogarh, referred to above, has on its east face these two sage-gods seated side by side. The following is Cunningham's description of the relief : 'Both are represented as ascetics clad in antelope skins, with the head of the antelope in front on a small scale. The figure to the left must be Śiva himself, as he has four arms while that to the right has only two arms. The hair of both is matted after the fashion of ascetics, and each holds up a rosary in the right hand. Below Śiva there are three deer, and in a cave beneath the other figure there is a lion. On each side there is an attendant figure, with beard and matted hair, carrying a rosary. Above, there are five flying figures, three males and two females, carrying a canopy of foliage over Śiva's head. On a separate slab above, there is a figure with three heads seated on a lotus, and attended on each side by the flying figure, one male and one

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'dīrghabhuja' ( long-armed ), 'muṣkacatuṣkin' ( having four testes ), 'ṣaṣṭidanta' and 'aṣṭadaṃstrā' ( having sixty teeth and eight fangs ), 'meghaughasadrśa svana' ( their voices like the roaring thunder ), 'svāsyā' ( beautiful faced ), 'prthulalāṭa' ( having wide forehead ), 'subhrū, suhanunāsika' ( having beautiful brows, chin and nose ), 'ātāpētreṇa sadrśe śīraśi' ( their heads like umbrellas ). Many of these characteristic signs of great men are also included among the thirty-two greater and 80 lesser signs of a Buddha in the Buddhist literature. The 'Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas', especially their iconographic aspect have been discussed by me in 'Pratimalakṣaṇam'. C. U. P., 1932.

1. R. G. Bhandarkar, 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems', p. 33. He further observes, 'About the time when the new systems of religion arose, the ideas that were undergoing fermentation were Dharma or righteousness and Ahimsā or non-slaughter as against the old ceremonial of sacrificial rites and the killing of animals in accordance with it.'

female'. What Cunningham describes as a canopy of foliage carried by five flying figures, three males and two females, really consists of the garland-bearing Vidyādhara couples on either side with a beautifully carved female figure hanging on the leafy branches of a tree shown in the middle. The seats on which the two central figures are seated may be rocks or they may represent some vehicle. T. A. G. Rao perhaps on the above surmise of Cunningham (based on the matted locks on the head of the four-armed figure) identified the main figure as Jñāna or Yoga Dakṣiṇāmūrti of Śiva; the two-armed companion figure by its side was tentatively identified by him as Vyākhyāna-Dakṣiṇāmūrti of the same god. But all these suggestions have been proved to be erroneous and it was first pointed out by Gupte, sometime an officer in the Indian Archaeological Survey, that the whole relief corresponds in a very characteristic manner to the description of the two Sage-gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa as given in the 'Viṣṇudharmottara'. This interesting text prescribes that Nara should be of pale green colour like that of the 'dūrvā' grass and be two-armed, while Nārāyaṇa of the colour of the blue lotus should be four-armed; a 'badarī' (jujube) tree laden with fruits should be shown between the two and the earth goddess should be placed on the tree; the two gods should carry a rosary in one of their hands; they are to be placed in eight-wheeled vehicles with charioteers; they will have black antelope skin on their bodies, and matted locks on their heads and should be placid in aspect; one of their legs is to be placed upon the chariot while the other (hangs down) along the knee; Hari should be like Nara and Kṛṣṇa like Nārāyaṇa in appearance.<sup>1</sup> On the

1. 'Viṣṇudharmottara', Book III, ch. 75, vv. 2-5 :- 'Dūrvāśyāma Naraḥ kāryo dvibhujāśca mahābhujā | Nārāyaṇaścaturbāhu nilotpadalacchaviḥ || Tayormadhye ca badarī kāryā phalabibhūṣaṇā | Badarīyamavani' (the Venkatesvara press has 'anu tau', but 'avani' in Rao's extract is the correct reading) 'kāryākṣamālādhārāvubhau' | Aṣṭacakre sthitau yāne sutayukte' (this reading is also better than the Venkatesvara press ones as 'bhūtiyukte' or 'dyutayukte' or 'bhūtayukte') manorame | Kṛṣṇājina-dharau dāntau jaṭamaṇḍaladhārīṇau || Pādena caikena rathasthitena pādena caikena ca jñānūgena | Kāryo Hariścātra Nareṇa tulyaḥ Kṛṣṇo'pi Nārāyaṇastulyamūrtiḥ.' This text thus describes all the four sons of Dharma and Ahimsā.

For Cunningham's description of Deogarh relief, refer to 'A. S. R.', vol. X, p. 107. For Rao's explanation of it, cf. 'op. cit.', vol. II, pp. 278-81 & pl. LXXI. B. Ch. Shastri has discussed at full length its correct identification in the pages of 'Acta Orientalia', Vol. XII, 1934 pp. 116-25, pl. III.

basis of this text we can identify the four-armed figure in the relief in question as Nārāyaṇa, the two-armed one as Nara, the female figure hanging by the tree as the earth-goddess and the leafy tree as the badarī-vṛkṣa; the chariot and the charioteer are not clearly depicted, but the position of the legs of the two gods closely conforms to the description. The artist has been remarkably successful in depicting the serene tranquility in their features. It has already been shown that a replica of the above Gupta relief was made in the same place centuries after its date.

Dharma, according to 'Viṣṇudharmottara' ( Bk. III, ch. 75, vv. 2-4 ), should be made with four faces, four legs and four arms, be dressed in white, endowed with all ornaments and be white in colour; he should hold a rosary in his right hand and a book in his left, and the two other hands should be placed on the personifications of Vyavasāya ( application ) and Sukha ( happiness ) to his right and left. T. A. G. Rao quotes the verses in Appendix C of his first volume ( pp. 61-62 ) but indicates the source as 'Ādityapurāṇa'; the only difference between the two extracts is 'vṛṣaḥ' in the place of 'sukhaḥ' in the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' text. It should be noted that this description is purely allegorical and the four-footed Dharma is perhaps based on the mythology that in the Kṛtayuga Dharma was four-footed ( 'catuṣpāda' ) and in each of the subsequent yugas it shed one of its legs, till in the present age, i. e. Kali Yuga, he stands only on one leg; 'pāda' in the above myth means quarter but the pun is evident. No early sculpture of Dharma is known to me. But one image in the collection of the Rajshahi Museum requires notice in this connection. It shows a male deity beautifully carved holding a scale in his right hand; it may represent Dharma, the scale indicating that the god weighs justice with impartiality. If this identification be correct, then it is understood that the artist followed a text in the making of this image, which is unknown to us; it should be dated in the 11th century A. D.<sup>1</sup> Rules for the construction of the images of Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Vedas, the 'Mahābhārata' and the Purāṇas, are also laid down in the texts; I explained elsewhere

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1. 'Dacca History of Bengal', Vol. I, p. 464.

the true interpretation of Vyāsa and the tradition about the twenty-eight Vyāsas.<sup>1</sup> The 'Viṣṇudharmottara' ( Bk. III, ch. 85, vv. 65-6 ) says that Vyāsa should be of dark complexion and calm appearance and have profuse matted locks of brown colour ( 'Kṛṣṇasāntatanur-Vyāsaḥ piṅgalo'-tijaṭādharaḥ" ) ; his four disciples, Sumanta, Jaimini, Paila and Vaiśampāyana should be placed by his sides. Puruṣa, an incarnatory form of Viṣṇu according to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa list, is an 'āvaraṇadevatā' to be placed in the east side of a Vaiṣṇava shrine ; he should face the east and should be of white colour, his garment being yellow ; he should have the figures of Śrī and Medinī on his sides. Dhanvantarī, another avatāra of Viṣṇu, according to the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa,' who is the same as Āyurveda personified ( 'Āyurvedastathā sākṣāddevo Dhanvantariḥ prabhuḥ', 'Viṣṇudharmottara', Bk. III, ch. 73, v. 48 ) is to be shown as good-looking, with a pitcher full of nectar placed in both of his hands ( 'Dhanvantariśca kartavyaḥ surūpaḥ priyadarśanaḥ | Karadvayagataṃ cāsya sāmṛtaṃ kalasaṃ bhavet' ). Kālānemiḥ in the 'Sātvata' list is, possibly Viṣṇu himself or the same as Hanumān, the monkey god who is the best devotee of Rāma Dāśarathī. The 'Vaikhānasāgama' elaborately describes the figure of the latter always in association with the figure of Rāghava Rāma ; he is there a mere accessory or attendant and is enjoined to be depicted as two-armed, standing a little in front to the right of Rāma, of a height reaching the chest, navel or hip of the central deity, his right hand placed upon the mouth ( a loyal gesture ), and the left hanging down to the knees, and his whole mien should indicate willing obedience to serve his master ( Rao, 'op. cit.', vol. I, App. C, pp. 41 & 43 ). But independent figures of Hanumān are well-known in India and the up-country Indians, many of whom are devout worshippers of Rāma, have special homage to pay to this monkey-god as Mahāvīra ( the great hero ) ; especially in Bihar and in some parts of the United Provinces, every village has its small shrine where the figure of this god is the object of worship. It is generally shown as striding forward either with a boulder in one of its hands ( representing Gandhamādāna hill which he carried to Rāma, when he was asked to bring Viśalyakaraṇī for Lakṣmaṇa's cure ) and a big club on

1. 'Development of Hindu Iconography', ch. I, pp. 14-5.



the other. One of the reliefs in the north-eastern wall of the main shrine at Paharpur shows the figure of a monkey carrying loads of stones on his two uplifted hands and head, and is undoubtedly connected with the story of construction of the bridge across the sea for Rāma and his monkey hoard to cross over to Laṅkā (S. K. Saraswatī, 'op. cit.', p. 76, fig. 2; the sculpture belongs to the mediaeval period). The Mahāvīra-Hanumān reliefs of the present days are reminiscent, as regards their poses, of the figure of the wind-god Vāta (OADO) figured on the reverse of many of Kanishka's and Huvishka's gold and copper coins. The colossal sculpture (No. D. 27) in the Mathura Museum probably represents Hanumān, the monkey hero; he is standing with his left foot on a prostrate female figure, the head of which is lost; the statue evidently of mediaeval period was discovered from Parkham<sup>1</sup>.

Gopinath Rao describes in his section of the Minor Avatāras and Manifestations of Viṣṇu several varieties of images such as Raṅganātha, Veṅkaṭeśa, Paṇḍharinātha or Viṭhobā and Jagannātha, which are specially enshrined in particular localities as Śrīraṅgam, Tirupati (both in the Madras Presidency), Paṇḍharipura (in the Bombay Presidency) and Puri (Orissa) respectively (vol. I, pp. 269-73 and plates). I have nothing to add to what he has said with regard to the first three; but I wish to say a few words about the last. The temple of Puri is as old as the 12th century A. D. and certain characteristic features of the temple ritual as well as the absence of any caste distinction in the temple precincts led some scholars to believe that the shrine at one time of its history belonged to the Buddhists. R. L. Mitra found in the outline of the crude mis-shapen wooden images of Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā a representation of the Buddhist Triratna symbol; every 12 years the images are renewed and in the time of renewal something perhaps in the nature of a relic is put into them by the head priest of the temple, blindfolded. It may or may not be based on

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1. Vogel, 'Mathura Museum Catalogue', p. 100. The female figure is haggard looking and the god seems to be attended by a defaced male figure perhaps endowed with a monkey face.

Buddhism, but the general position of the three deities, two male on sides and one female in the centre, is directly reminiscent of the early Vaiṣṇava images—Kṛṣṇa, Baladeva and Ekānamśā, already noted by me. But the manner of carving these particular gods is extremely interesting ; it is not that the Orissan artists were incapable of fashioning beautiful images, because the innumerable sculptures on the very temple, and images of various other gods and their accessories in numerous other Brāhmaṇical shrines of Orissa (datable from the 7th or 8th century onwards) testify to their artistic skill and excellence. But still they wilfully left unfinished the figures of the most sacred gods, objects of worship par excellence of the untold millions of Hindus from every corner of India. The god Jagannātha ( meaning the lord of the world ) is also frequently described as Puruṣottama. The 'Hayaśīrsa Pañcarātra' as quoted by Gopala Bhatta elaborately describes the images of Puruṣottama ; it first mentions the image of eight, four or two-armed Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu, then of two or four-armed Baladeva and lastly of beautiful Subhadrā. It then describes that when Subhadrā is shown between the two-armed images of Viṣṇu and Baladeva, that particular composition is Puruṣottama ('Evaṃ tu dvibhujo Viṣṇuḥ kathitaḥ sarvakāmadah | Baladevena śahito Bhadrāyā ca samanvitaḥ || Devasya dakṣiṇe pārśve Subhadrām viniveśayet | Tataḥ paramadākṛānta-locanaṃ sthāpayed-Balam'); Gopala Bhatta says that this is the image of Puruṣottama ( 'iti Puruṣottama : Haribhaktivilāsa', Calcutta Edition, p. 622 ). The much earlier description of the three deities in the chapter 57 of the 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā' ( verses 31-39 ) seems to have been the original of the above description noted by Gopala Bhatta. There also, first the eight-armed, then four-armed and lastly two-armed figures of Viṣṇu are described ; then two-armed Baladeva is accounted for and lastly two-, four- or eight-armed image of Ekānamśā is enjoined to be placed between the above two male deities ( 'Ekānamśā kāryā devī Baladeva-Kṛṣṇayormadhye | Kāṭisaṃsthitavāmakarā sarojāmitareṇa codvahatī' ). There is a tradition recorded in the Puri temple annals ( 'Mādla Pañji' ) that the divine artist Viśvakarmā who was requisitioned for the fashioning of Jagannātha's image was disturbed by king Indradyumna in his work and according to previous stipulation he left it unfinished. But such stories are after thoughts and are framed to offer some plausible

explanation for an already established fact, and they help very little in understanding the real reason underlying it.<sup>1</sup>

It has already been pointed out that Garuḍa or Garutman, the emblem of Viṣṇu and his vehicle, was originally the Sun conceived as a bird. The R̥gvedic hymn ( I. 164, 46 ) describes the celestial Garutman as endowed with beautiful wings ( 'divyaḥ sa suparṇo Garutmān' ). Garuḍa's another name is Tārksya in the epic and purāṇic period, and the latter also occurs twice in some late hymns of the 'R̥gveda', but there it means a steed.<sup>2</sup> 'In one or two later vedic texts Tārksya is, however, referred to as a bird ; and in the epic and subsequent literature, he is identified with the swift bird Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu' ( Macdonell, 'Vedic Mythology', p. 49 ). In many passages of the 'Mahābhārata', Garuḍa is formally identified with the vedic Garutmān and is described as the brother of Aruṇa, the forerunner of Sūrya ; in the developed epic mythology, he is the son of Kaśyapa and Vinatā ( Vainateya ) and is thus the half-brother of the Nāgas, Kaśyapa's sons by Kadru, his other wife. A great enmity existed between Garuḍa and the Nāgas, and he is frequently described as 'bhujagāri', 'pannagāśana', 'pannaga-bhojana' etc. meaning the enemy of the snakes and the devourer of the serpents. This enmity originated from the ill-treatment of his mother in the hands of Kadru and her sons. Garuḍa once undertook to bring the divine nectar for his step brothers in exchange of which they would release his mother from Kadru's service. On his way to secure the 'amṛta' he lived on the Niṣādas and lifted up an elephant named Supratika ( Nāga Supratika ) and a tortoise named Vibhāvasu with his talons from the lake Ālamba ; he sat with this load on the branch of a banyan tree whereon the Vālakhilya sages were resting. The tree

1. The different views about the Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadra images enshrined in the main sanctum of the Puri temple have been ably summarised by G. Sirkar in his authoritative Bengali work on 'Three Temples' or 'Mandirer Kathā', pp. 68-104 and plates ; he has rightly left the question open. The advocates of the Buddha theory have, however, more in their favour than those of the others. In many of the Orissan versions of the Daśavatāra slabs, the figure of Jagannātha occupies the ninth place, the place of Buddha ; in various Orissan works of the late mediaeval and modern periods as well as in many comparatively old Bengali manuscripts, the identity of Jagannātha and Viṣṇu's Buddha form is accepted.

2. 'R. V.' X, 178, I : 'Tyamū ṣu vājinaṃ devajūtaṃ sahāvānaṃ tarutāvānaṃ rathānām | Ariṣṭanemiṃ prtanājamāśuṃ svastaye Tārksyamihā huvema'. The mantra uttered by the priests in times of sprinkling 'śāntijala' over their yajamānas is the verse occurring in 'R. V.' I, 89. 6 :—'Svasti na Indro vṛddhaśravāḥ svasti naḥ pūṣa viśvavedāḥ | Svasti na Tārksyo Ariṣṭanemiḥ svasti na Bṛhaspatirdadhātu'.

branch broke under their joint weight, and for fear of injuring the sages, he did not let it fall but carried all to the hermitage of his father. After the Vāḷakhilyas were made to quit the tree branch by Kaśyapa, Garuḍa dropped the branch and ate up his two prizes—the Nāga and the Kacchapa. He then proceeded to Indra's capital and after vanquishing the divine guards appointed to look after the 'amṛta' flew with it to his step brothers. Vinatā was set free, but the Nāgas were deprived of the nectar which was stolen by the crafty Indra in disguise. The tongues of the Nāgas were cleft asunder and remained so ever afterwards, because they licked up the sharp-edged Kuśa grass on which the ambrosia pot was placed by Garuḍa; this is also the reason why the 'Kuśa' grass is so sacred.<sup>1</sup>

In the earliest period Garuḍa is represented as a bird with emphasis on some bodily features. One of the earliest extant reliefs of Garuḍa is on the inner side of the second architrave of the east gate at Sanchi. Had the Garuḍa capital of the Besnagar Garuḍadhvaja been extant, that would have been a still earlier specimen. The Sanchi relief shows the animal world reverencing the Buddha symbolised by the Bodhidruma with Vajrāsana beneath it. The whole composition contains along with natural animal figures, such hybrid forms as leonine creatures with dogs' heads, and lions with griffin-like heads. In the right corner of the composition is carved a huge parrot-like bird with ear-ornaments and big bushy tuft by the side of a five-headed snake; the type is a purely Indian one, but his wings, according to Grünwedel, show the artificial forms of West Asian art. Grünwedel says, 'This is assuredly the Garuḍa, with the Nāga, whose mortal enemy he is'; he further remarks about the mediaeval representations of Garuḍa that 'The native parrot type on the one hand, the west Asian griffin on the other, are the bases upon which more modern iconography developed its Garuḍa' ('Bud. Art' p. 51). In the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra, Garuḍa appears in the shape of a huge eagle decked with the same ear-ornaments and wings

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1. Rao relates the story at some length in his section on Garuḍa, 'op. cit.', Vol. I, pp. 283-5. It is based on the 'Mahābhārata', Ādiparva, chapters 43-50. For various other epic stories about the sun-bird, refer to Hopkins, 'Epic Mythology', pp. 21 ff.

more naturalistically treated. He is very often depicted as carrying off into the air with his long beak or with his big talons a Nāga or a Nāgī, sometimes a couple of them. The Buddhist literature abounds with stories which seem to explain these feats of Garuḍa (cf. the Bauddha drama of 'Nāgānanda'). I have a suspicion that the epic mythology of Garuḍa's taking off the Supratika, the Nāga (there in the sense of an elephant) and his brother Vibhāvasu, the tortoise, already referred to above, is likewise based on the reliefs just noted; it may be observed that the above myth occurs in the Ādiparva among evidently late additions.<sup>1</sup> The intermediate stage in the evolution of the hybrid Garuḍa figure of mediaeval art from these early forms is shown on Gupta coins. On most of the gold coins of the imperial Gupta rulers, Garuḍa invariably appears in the form of a plump bird with beautiful wings as the capital piece of a column; it is, presumably that the Besnagar Garuḍadhvaja had as its finiale a similar figure of the bird. Garuḍa was the badge of the Guptas and appears on their seals (cf. the Bhitari seal); lines 23 ff. of the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta show that the personal seal of the sovereign bore the figure of a Garuḍa ('Garutmadāṅka'). V. A. Smith suggested that the Garuḍa standard was copied from the Roman eagle; but J. Allan has rightly observed that there is no reason for this supposition and 'the resemblance is quite a coincidence, and Garuḍadhvajās were common objects in India ('op. cit.,' p. LXX). On the reverse sides of the silver coins of Chandragupta II Garuḍa stands facing with outspread wings; on some varieties of his copper coins, however, the bird is endowed with novel features. Thus, on Type II ('Chattrā' Type) of his copper issues, Garuḍa is figured with outspread wings and long human arms adorned with bracelets; on Types V, VI and VII in the same issues, he is figured with outstretched wings, though without human arms, but

one.

3. Grünwedel thinks that such Hellenistic compositions of Gandhāra as showing Garuḍa carrying off Nāga youths were direct copies with Buddhistic import of the 'Rape of Ganymede', a work of the famous Hellenistic sculptor, Leochares, 'Buddhist Art', pp. 109-10, figs. 61 & 62.

holding a snake in his mouth.<sup>1</sup> The bare suggestion of hybridity in the above type ( No. II ) of Chandragupta's copper coins was not worked out in its fuller details in the other silver and copper coins of Chandragupta II himself and his successors, and it was left for the regular iconographers of Brāhmanical art to develop the type in the late or post Gupta and the mediaeval periods. It may be observed here that on some terracotta seals of the late Gupta period discovered at Nālandā, Garuḍa is very elaborately depicted; here also his bird form is emphasised. These numismatic and glyptic representations of Garuḍa leave little doubt that such was also the usual method of depicting him in the plastic art of the Gupta period.

The mediaeval images of Garuḍa can be broadly subdivided into two groups—one that shows the mount whereon Viṣṇu is riding singly or with his consort, and the other where the man-bird serves as the capital of a column or is placed in front of a Vaiṣṇava shrine. In both the groups, the mount and emblem of Viṣṇu is depicted as a round-eyed human being with the wings of a bird and a beak-like nose; he is usually two-armed, his hands being in the 'añjali' pose; but on some late-mediaeval sculpture of eastern India, he is endowed with four arms, the back hands supporting the legs of the divine couple ( Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa ). As the capital of a column he is sometimes depicted as Janiform, his whole figure being double-sided; the eyes and beak are shown as in the above-named type and the two hands of the god are folded in front of his breast; the usual ornaments are depicted on his body, but the hair is standing on end in single matted coils; the elaborate wings are never absent and the feet are sometimes given the character of the bird's claws. Rarely however, in compositions showing Viṣṇu seated, Garuḍa appears as a beautiful male figure without any emphasis on the bird-like features (a tiny pair of wings is fixed on the back, but these are not discernible from the front), where his identity is disclosed by a small snake held by him.

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1. J. Allan, 'Catalogue of Gupta Coins in the British Museum,' pp. 52 ff. and plates. In some specimens, e. g. in Type I of the copper coins of Chandragupta II, Garuḍa is nimbate, and on others, as on Type No. V, he is placed on an akṣar;—all such features, thus, emphasise his divine character.

in one of his hands. In the elaborate sculpture in the collection of the Mathura Museum ( D. 37 ) showing Viṣṇu Yogāsana, already described in the 1st chapter of this book, the beautifully carved male figure behind the Cakrapuruṣa on the proper left of the seated Viṣṇu is none other than Garuḍa, as it holds a tiny cobra in its right hand. Vogel noticed the cobra in its hand, but he did not see the pair of wings attached to its back which are not visible from the front and so could not identify it properly ( 'M. M. C.', p. 102 ). The two images of Garuḍa which are illustrated by T. A. G. Rao in his book ( Vol. 1, p. 287, pls. LXXIV and LXXXV, fig. 1 ) are interesting; the first, carved on the front gable of the Cave No. III at Badami, shows the mythical man-bird with a flabby belly, beak-like nose, round eyes, two outspread wings and various ornaments on his body; he holds in his right hand a big cobra with a spread hood while his left hand is placed on his belly; he is represented as flying through the air. The other image from Palur, Travancore, is of wood and is only about a couple of centuries old; it was carved in such a manner as to be hung on the ceiling by means of a chain. This particular image illustrates the mythology of the forcible abduction of Vibhāvasu and Supratika ( the elephant and the tortoise ) by Garuḍa, already mentioned, for it holds the elephant and tortoise in its right and left hands. Two elaborately carved panels in Cave No. IV at Badami represent the theft of the jar of nectar by Garuḍa, already noted; the episode is described in detail in the 'Āstikaparvādhyaḥ' of the 'Ādiparva' of the 'Mahābhārata'. On the fourth bas-relief from the left is a jar placed on a round object in the centre; on both its sides are gods standing in battle array among whom we can recognise Viṣṇu, Śiva, Yama, Varuṇa and others from their respective emblems; Garuḍa from the extreme left corner attacks the gods protecting the nectar. The narrative is then continued in the next relief; on the extreme left the jar of nectar is shown on a pillar; to its right Garuḍa is flying towards and attacking the gods; in the right half of the panel Garuḍa is carved on its extreme left with the nectar jar in his hands flying to left followed by Indra on Airāvata and another god holding a drawn sword. Thus, the left half of this panel represents the defeat of the celestial host by Garuḍa and his access to the nectar ( sometimes described in texts as Soma ),

and the right half, Garuḍa escaping with the nectar and 'Indra following him and throwing his 'vajra' at him.<sup>1</sup> Such elaborate representations of the story in the shrines of the Gupta period show that the mythology was well-known at that time. Reference should be made in this connection to the two incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu in the 'Sātvata' list of the 39 Vibhavas ; one is Vihaṅgama ( No. 9 ) and the other Amṛta-harāṇa ( No. 18 ). There is no doubt that these two refer to Garuḍa, and the last one to the episode just noted.

T. A. G. Rao quotes descriptions of Garuḍa from three different texts viz., 'Viṣṇudharmottara', 'Śrītatvanidhi' and 'Śilparatna'. The last two texts describe a two-armed image ; but the 'Śilparatna' passage refers to another variety of Garutmān which is endowed with eight arms, the hands holding such objects as water-jar, mace, conchshell, discus, sword and snake, while on the other two rest the feet of Kṛṣṇa ; the two-armed image in this text is described as that of Tārksya. The 'Agnipurāṇa', however, describes the images of Trailokya-mohana and Tārksya as eight-armed with 'cakra', 'khaḍga', 'musala' and 'aṅkuśa' in the right hands, and 'śaṅkha', 'śārṅga', 'gadā', and 'pāśa' in the left ; Lakṣmī and Saraswatī holding 'padma' and 'vīṇā' are to be placed on two sides of these images ( ch. 49, vv. 19-21 ). The 'Viṣṇudharmottara' text enjoins that Tārksya should have the nose of a kiṭe ( 'kausika' ), should be four-armed, his face showing round eyes ; his breast, knee and legs should be like those of a vulture ; he should have two wings ; two of his hands ( back ones ) should hold an umbrella and a jar full ( of nectar ) and the other hands ( front ones ) should be in the 'aṅjali' pose ; when lord ( Viṣṇu ) is shown on his back then the ( back ) hands should not hold an umbrella and a jar but support the legs of the god ; he should be shown slightly pot-bellied ( 'kiñcillambodaram' ) and should be decorated with all ornaments. With the exception of the 'Śilparatna' passage describing the eight-armed variety of Garuḍa, none of the above text speaks about a snake in

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1. R. D. Banerjee, 'The Bas-reliefs of Badami', 'M. A. S. I.', No. 25, p. 46, pl. XXIII, figs. (a) and (b) ; in pages 43-6, Banerjee narrates the whole story.



the hands of Garuḍa, though the 'Śrītatvanidhi' tells us that his head should be adorned with snakes ('mūrdhnā ca phaṇimaṇḍitah'). But, as it has been pointed out above, the association of Garuḍa with snakes can be traced not only to mythological stories of the late epic and purāṇic periods, but is also emphasised in the much earlier plastic representations.

The phenomenal development of the practice of making images and worshipping them is indicated by the fact that even the attributes which were placed in their hands were personified and represented anthropomorphically. These anthropomorphic representations came to be described in general as Āyudhapuruṣas and, as it has already been shown, they were mostly associated with Viṣṇuite icons. 'Cakra' and 'gadā' in human form are found as early as in the Viṣṇuite reliefs of the Gupta period; 'śaṅkha' and rarely 'padma' are similarly shown in the sculptures of the early and late mediaeval periods of eastern and northern India. Various other emblems, such as 'vajra', 'śakti', 'daṇḍa', 'khaḍga', 'pāśa', 'aṅkuśa', 'triśūla' etc., are also enjoined to be depicted in human forms in late iconographic texts; but they are seldom shown in this manner in the reliefs. The earliest representation of an Āyudhapuruṣa, however, seems to occur in some square copper coins of Maues; 'vajra' there appears as a man behind whom is carved a double-pronged thunderbolt, just in front of enthroned Zeus-Indra whose right hand is placed over his head. The obverse device of some copper coins of Maues (Nos. 12 and 13 in the collection of the British Museum) has been described by Gardner as, 'Zeus laureate, seated on left on throne; holds in left hand sceptre; right extended towards small winged female figure, who seems to be an embodiment of the thunderbolt' ('B. M. C.' p. 70, pl. XVI.9). Gardner, while emphasising the peculiar semi-Hellenic nature of the coin-devices of the early Indo-Scythic kings, remarks, 'Still more original is the type, where a seated Zeus grasps in his extended hand, not, as usual, a victory or a thunderbolt, but a being who seems an impersonation of the thunderbolt, and stands in the midst of it' ('ibid', p. vii). Here is probably the earliest representation of an Āyudhapuruṣa; the figure on these coins appears to be male. In later reliefs, however, such personifications of 'vajra' are seldom found. Of the different Vaiṣṇava emblems which are represented in art, some are depicted as male and others as female.

this being determined by the particular gender of the word denoting them. Thus, the word 'gadā' being in feminine gender, the personified form of this weapon appears as a beautiful woman; 'śaṅkha' being masculine, its personification shows a man. 'Cakra' and 'padma' are in the neuter gender, and they are enjoined to be represented as eunuchs, but for all practical purposes they are shown as male figures in Gupta and mediaeval art. The texts say that weapons like 'śakti', 'aṅkuśa', 'pāśa', 'vajra' etc. should be personified as male, female or eunuch according to the above rule; but we have hardly any means of testing this textual injunction, as they are seldom represented in human form. In the Śeṣaśayana or Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu relief at Deogarh, T. A. G. Rao recognised the Āyudhapuruṣas such as Gadā, Dhanus, Cakra, Śaṅkha and Khadga, the first two by the side of the central figure, the last three below. That some of the accessory figures in particular types of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu image, stand for weapons or attributes personified is proved usually by the carving of their real forms either behind or on the head of the personifications; moreover, in some cases the individual weapons or attributes are placed in the hands of the latter. The mere showing of such attributes as 'śaṅkha' and 'cakra' in the hands of the attendants of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu, however, would not always determine their identity. Thus, in the Madhyama Bhogāsana-mūrti of Viṣṇu of the Kailāsanāthasvāmin temple at Conjeevaram (Rao, 'op. cit.', vol. I. p. 105, pl. XXVI), the god does not hold any of the attributes in his four hands; but a conchshell and a discus are carried by two small attendant figures by his side, who also hold a yak-tail in their other hands. These two have been described wrongly by Rao as 'Āyudhapuruṣas'; but as they are female figures and as Cakra and Śaṅkhapuruṣas are never shown thus, they are really female companions of the god carrying for him two of his principal attributes. The Viṣṇu-Cakra found at Sharishadaha (24 Perganas, Bengal) and now in the collection of the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, is a unique sculpture carved with the same device on both sides. It shows the four-armed deity dancing on the shoulders of Garuḍa inside the centre of a beautifully carved wheel; his natural hands are beating time over his head, and the added ones hold a 'cakra' and a 'gadā'. Garuḍa and these two emblems prove that the Puruṣa inside the 'cakra' or the Cakrapuruṣa is endowed with the character of the principal

deity. It is evidently the Sudarśana, the 'cakra par excellence' of Viṣṇu. Sudarśana-cakra is described in the 'Śilparatna' and other texts either as an eight or even sixteen-armed Viṣṇu placed inside a 'saṭkoṇacakra' (two interlacing equilateral triangles in the midst of a rayed disc). The Bengal sculpture is a new variety of Sudarśana and was either set up as a main image in a subsidiary shrine by the side of a Vaiṣṇava temple or it was the capital of a column, more probably the former.<sup>1</sup> But Cakrapuruṣa, an attendant of Viṣṇu, is described in the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' as "a male figure with round eyes and a drooping belly; this image of 'cakra' should be adorned with various ornaments and should carry a 'cāmara'. It should be so curved as to indicate that it is evincing a desire to gaze upon Viṣṇu; the left hand of Viṣṇu should be made to rest upon the head of the Cakrapuruṣa."<sup>2</sup>

( To be continued )

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1. Rao quotes fully the description of Sudarśana from the 'Śilparatna' and other texts and illustrates it by a few South Indian images; 'op. cit.', vol. I, pp. 290-92, pls. LXXXV, fig. 2, & LXXXVA.

The esoteric significance of Sudarśana cakra has been fully expounded in the 'Aḥirbudhnya Samhitā' and other Pāñcarātra works.

2. Rao. 'op. cit.', vol. I, p. 290. For a description of the other Āyudhapuruṣas on the basis of the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' and other texts and symbolism underlying them, cf. 'ibid', pp. 288-96.

## THE TRADITION OF FOLK-DANCES IN WESTERN INDIA : THE RĀSA AND THE GARBO

by M. R. MAJMUDAR

India with her ancient civilisations, which saw many races and many cultures rise, grow and decay, has preserved remnants of their varied folk-arts. Each of her provinces has its own distinct form, though the fundamental impulse is one.

By traditions of folk-dances in Western India, north of Bombay, we refer to Gujarāt made up of three divisions : Ānarta, Lāṭa and Surāṣṭra : Ānarta or the mainland of North Gujarāt between Mt. Ābu and the river Māhī ; Lāṭa or Southern Gujarāt between the river Mahī and the river Damaṇagangā close to the outskirts of the Śūrparaka forest on the Western coast line—the modern Soppārā ; and Surāṣṭra or the peninsular Gujarāt, the modern Kāthiāwār.

Folk-art has its roots in the soil where the people live ; it is their natural mode of artistic response to environmental influence. Their religious fervour often finds expression in it.

Folk-arts in India are essentially religious ; this applies also to the domestic decorative arts and cottage crafts. Religious worship and rites generally call forth music, dance and decorations ; and the inborn art-sense of the people evolves the appropriate form.

What music gives in sound, dance gives in gesture ; for it is through the means of this gesture-language that the 'rasa', the essence of art or beauty is evoked in the spectator. It is accordingly laid down in texts on Music that 'Nāṭya' and 'Nṛtya' should be witnessed particularly at the time of a festival. Those who wish for good luck should cause 'Nṛtya' to be performed on occasions like the coronation celebration of kings, a festival, a procession with an image of a god, a marriage ceremony, the reception

of a friend, the entry into a (new) town or house and the birth of a son ; for it (Nṛtya, i. e. dancing) is auspicious.

Folk-art of the present day is a tradition handed down from the past and fused with hieratic and classic literary tradition which belong to the culture of the whole race, equally shared by kings and peasants. The songs of Ālhā (may be from Sanskrit 'ālhāda') along with Nṛtya and 'abhinaya', i. e. gesture language, are still performed in U. P. at the birth of children (sons). Girls dance while observing 'vrata's, i. e. vows. In many parts of Western India dancing is still in vogue under any pretext. Dance, as a domestic as well as a religious institution is still practised over a great part of India.

Music (Saṅgīta) is divided into 'Mārgī' and 'Deśī'. The word 'Deśī' when applied to music means indigenous ; born of the land, natural and unrefined as opposed to 'Mārgī' which is classical, scientific and belonging to a system, a 'Mārga'.

Śaṅgadeva (12th century A. D.) has defined the indigenous dance, music and musical instruments as that which catches the popular ear and touches the very heart of the people of various lands and climes'. Such local tunes are consequently named after their original place of birth, such as Gaudī, Varāḍī, Gurjarī, Mālavī, Kārṇāṭakī, Saindhavī, Māru and so on.

The 'deśī' music is entirely governed by a 'tāla' or a 'laya' and not necessarily by the melody created by a composition of several 'svaras' or the notes of the Indian Octave. By 'tāla' we mean a stroke or an accent falling at regular intervals, regulated by the utterances of certain syllables within a fixed time. A 'tāla' in a 'rāsa' or a 'garbā' song is not

- १ (i) "देशे देशे जनानां च यद् रुच्यते इदं रसकम् ।  
नृत्यं गीतं च वाद्यं च तद्देशीत्यभिधीयते ॥"

—संगीतरत्नाकरे

- (ii) "जनानां प्रतिदेशं यद् मनोरंजनकारकम् ।  
देशीति कथ्यते सर्वैराचार्यैर्भरतादिभिः ॥"

—श्रीकण्ठस्य रसकौमुद्यां

simply an embellishment but is the guiding principle, its very crux. Pārśvadeva of the 13th century is eloquent in establishing the importance of 'tāla'. Kavi Nānālāl hence prefixes the word 'rasa' to it<sup>1</sup>.

The poets of the Apabhraṃśa, Old Western Rājasthānī and Mediaeval Gujarātī period kept to the vernacular of the masses by utilising local tunes or 'deśīs' and the 'dhālas' in preference to classic metres. Thus mass-music was recorded in the 'Prabandhas' and the 'Rāsas' in various local tunes named after or popular in different places, provinces and with different peoples of India. The popularity of the Gītagovinda though composed in classical Sanskrit is due to its Prabandhas or 'deśī' tunes which appeal to the popular taste.

The varied nature of the occupations of the people of Gujarāt itself has helped to shape their artistic tendencies. These embrace many occupational trades such as those of the hunter, the shepherd, the peasant, the seaman and the merchant. The arts and crafts are associated with the variegated activities—activities which left their mark on the intellectual life of the people of Western India as a whole.

A passing reference to the religious history of Gujarāt suggests that when the people of Gujarāt followed either Śakti-worship or animism the 'garbā' was the popular folk-dance. Later on with the development of the 'rāsa' or cowherd-dance (evolved from the 'hallisaka' and the 'lāsyā' of the treatises on music). Vaiṣṇavism came to be preached in Gujarāt and as a result, the Śākta and animistic beliefs were blended together evolving a novel form of secular dance.

Worshipping an oil-lamp covered by a many-holed 'chetty' in the

- १ "तालमूलानि गेयानि ताले सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।  
तालहीनानि गेयानि मन्त्रहीना यथाहुतिः ॥"

—संगीतसमयसारे

- २ "आबो आबो ने सखीबो आज, रसताली पाडी ।  
कई गजबो आपणी बहेन, आ गुर्जरी बाडी ॥"

—नहानो नहाना रास

middle of an open glade, is a survival of magical and cultural practices connected with the hunter's occupation, and the forest-lore born of it in Gujarāt and Rājputānā, now driven eastwards and southwards beyond the plains<sup>1</sup>.

The next variety of worship, of a basket with seedlings of barley 'yavāṅkura', jowarī or rice which forms an alternative to the 'ghaṭa' or 'chetty', brings us to the peasant, who as he cleared the forest and cultivated the seedling plants of the Mother Earth, came to learn the value and importance of the seedling and the nursing of it as vital for the successful growth and abundance of his crops—as vital as the 'chetty' with the lamp under it had proved itself to be, for the hunter in his forest home. The many-holed earthen pot<sup>2</sup> holds the burning flame, with which the Goddess Śaradambā scares away many a disturbance, disease and devil ; it is thus a redeeming feature of the open courtyards during the nine-nights' festival, the festival of the autumnal crops in Gujarāt.

After the worship of the hunter and the peasant, we come to 'rāsa'—the worship of the cowherd, accompanied with dance which is naturally associated with Kṛṣṇa legends. In the 'rāsa' dance is a greater freedom of movements, there being no central object like the 'garbo' or the 'maṇḍapikā' ( the lamp-tree ) or any sacred object present anywhere or on the person of any of the dancers.

All the Śākta and animistic beliefs and practices which the converts to Vaiṣṇavism carried in the depths of their hearts, as the most persistent heritage from their forefathers could not at all be eradicated ;—hence the 'garbo' essentially connected with Śākta worship has continued to be played ; this is manifest at least during the Navarātra festivals, and on special occasions of vital importance to the family—such as the pregnancy rites. The inner urge for dance and song among the people of Gujarāt thus bursts forth year after year, during the Durgā-pūjā holidays which

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1. For a fuller treatment of this section, vide N. A. Thoothi, 'The Vaiṣṇavas of Gujarāt' (1935, Longmans), p. 303.

2. The word 'garbha-dīpa' means a many-holed earthen pot with a lamp inside it ; by the dropping of the latter member of the compound it gives the popular term 'garbo'.

extend to nine-nights and days, and invariably continue upto the full-moon night of Āśvin, which was the glorious night of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's 'rāsa-kṛīḍā'. These 'garbā-songs' and the dance connected with them are essential cultural contributions to Gujarātī literature, dance and art.

A 'garbo' is a bored earthen pot with a burning lamp inside it, which when carried on the head of Gujarātī ladies shines like stars in the firmament and lends charm to their midnight songs during the autumnal festival. Vallabhabhaṭṭa ( Samvat 1710-1800 ) is a representative Gujarātī poet who has described this festival beloved throughout the land. This poet has compared, in a flash of vision, the many-holed earthen pot with a lamp inside it on the head of a lady, to the starry dome of the heavens held by the Mahāśakti<sup>1</sup>.

From the material form of the 'garbo,' the word has come to apply to the singing party itself where men, but more often women move round and round in a circle, and sing to the accompaniment of a rythmical clap of hands and feet<sup>2</sup>. The dancers in motion are known by a single name 'garbo'.

And then the songs composed for this and similar occasions are also known by the common name 'garbo' : Thus all the three phases of this folk-dance are blended into one homogeneous whole and hence they go by a common name.

The 'garbo' is sung by women forming a circle. When the music is on, they move round, sing together and while bending their bodies gracefully give the 'tāla' at the appropriate timing. The 'garbo' is led by one lady

- १ ( i ) "गगनमण्डल करी गागरी रे मा" etc, and  
 ( ii ) "रंगताली रंगताली रे रंगमां रंगताली  
 मांहे अलीस वत्रीस जाली रे रंगमां रंगताली  
 मांहे कनकनो गरबो लीधो के रंगमां रंगताली  
 मांहे रत्ननो दीवडो कीधो के रंगमां रंगताली"

२ Cf.

"नृत्यं वाद्यानुवर्ती स्याद् वाद्यं गानानुगं भवेत् ।"

—रसकौमुदी by श्रीकण्ठ



who sings the song in the first instance, and the rest of the ladies repeat it and sing it back.

There are certain portions of the 'garbo' which are known as 'sākhi' in which the tāla is not given, so that the women cease to move and stand in a circle and sing the couplets. It is the unison of three actions—dancing, clapping and singing—that makes a 'rāsa' unique.

These 'garbās' are invocations of various goddesses such as Bhadrakālī, Bahucharājī, Ambāji and others. Here, as elsewhere, religion is the inspiration to art, the dance and the music being forms of expression of the religious emotion. "Dancing, we may see throughout the world, has been so essential, so fundamental a part of all vital and indegenerate religion, that whenever a new religion appears, a religion of the spirit and not merely an anaemic religion of the intellect, we shall still have to ask of it, the question of the Bantu : 'what do you dance ?' " ( Havelock Ellis, 'Dance of Life', p.41 ).

Apart from the 'garbā' in praise of the goddess a very common form of the 'garbā' has been the love-songs of Kṛṣṇa. In this theme there is a peculiar and happy blend of the devotional sentiment and the erotic. These devotional love-songs are, as a rule, more effective for purposes of the 'garbā' than the 'garbās' composed by some modern poets, partly because the musical element in them is more pronounced than the merely poetical.

In the 'garbā', there is colour and music, grace and sweetness. It is a beautiful art-form and a unique mode of the culture and self-expression of a people. It is common to the classes and the masses, a folk-dance no less than a dance of the educated and leisured classes. It is one of the joys of life, individual and collective, and one of the finest contributions of Gujarāt to the artistic heritage of India.

The folk-'garbās', composed in colloquial language and sung in villages, are a characteristic form of popular art. If the poetry in them is not always of a very high order, their sweet and simple music has a charm all its own. Being in plain and unornamental style, they are more delightful to sing than to read.

Akin to the 'ārādhana'-Nṛtya of the 'garbo' and the 'rāsa', Mahārāṣṭra has its special institution of 'Harikīrtana'—appeasing God by the second of the nine-fold Bhakti or devotion ; and it is indigenous to that part of

India. It can fairly be called unique in its sphere. Having its earliest beginnings with the Ālwārs and the saints of the Vāraṅkarī Saṁpradāya, the tradition of 'Harikīrtana' developed into an artistic performance with the founding of the Hindupat Pādaśāhī at Poona. There is an interesting anecdote which records that a man even of Chhatrapati Śivāji Mahārāja's standing, had found pleasure in performing a Harikīrtana himself, in the manner of the devout Marāṭha saints. This fact testifies to the place of Harikīrtana in the cultural life of the Mahārāṣṭryans.

Bengal, on the other hand, had developed its special cultural institution of Vṛnda gāna—the practice of mass prayers, popularly known as Kīrtana or Saṁkīrtana. It seems to have been made immensely popular since the times of Lord Gaurāṅga Caitanya. In these Kīrtanas, one starts and leads the service and others take up the burden of the song or the slogan. The music enlivens the Harināma-smaraṇa, the praise of the name of the Lord.

To these indigenous, artistic and devotional products of Mahārāṣṭra and Bengal, the folk-dances of Gujarāt bear an interesting comparison.

As early as in the time of the Arthaśāstra. Kauṭilya mentions the Saurāṣṭrians as a republic—a Rājanya-gaṇa. And the republican people of Saurāṣṭra were mostly known as a race of agriculturists, traders and warriors ( काम्बोजसौराष्ट्रक्षत्रियश्रेण्यादयः वार्ताशस्त्रोपजीविनः । ).

The earliest historical record about Saurāṣṭra is that of the Vṛṣṇis of the Yādava clan. These Vṛṣṇis, according to the Mahābhārata and the Jātaka Kathā, left Mathurā and settled themselves in Dwārakā, when pressed by Jarāsandha, the Magadha king. Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa as belonging to this clan is accordingly styled Vārṣṇeya. Since Śrī Kṛṣṇa selected the quiet resort on the Western seashore of Saurāṣṭra as a permanent place of settlement for the Yādava clan, the tradition of Kṛṣṇa-associations and the worship of Gopāla Kṛṣṇa date from this early period.

Kṛṣṇa, called Naṭavara, has given us two dances : the first is a dance of triumph following the victory over Kālīya ; the second dance is about the most favourite country or folk-dance in Vṛndāvana and the localities round about. It is called the Rāsa-maṇḍala, which is of the erotic and tender Lāsyā type, as distinguished from the Tāṇḍava of Śiva, representing his 'tāmasic' aspect.

The musical propensities of the Vṛṣṇis are a familiar feature in Sanskrit literature. The Hari-vaṃśa describes their dancing sports, such as the dance with accompaniment of sticks—the 'daṇḍarāsaka', and the other with the accompaniment of the clapping of hands—the 'tāla(li) rāsaka'.

Bhāsa refers to the Hallīśaka dance in his drama 'Bālacarita,' Act III, where we are told that Kṛṣṇa or Dāmodara,—his name won from an adventure,—has gone to the Vṛnadā wood for the Hallīśaka dance ; the dance is performed by Dāmodara, his friends and the maidens to the music of the drum and song.

The poet Māgha, a resident of Śrīmāla (Bhinnamāla), gives a classical description of the ball and music indulged in by the Vṛṣṇis in his poem 'Śiśupālavadha'.

These are the earliest records of the traditions of music and dancing in Western India, which have through the march of time permeated the very life of the people.

The 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa', which is the magnum opus of Vaiṣṇavism dealing with the glories of the childhood of Śrīkṛṣṇa, has five chapters devoted to the description of Rāsa-līlā—styled the 'Rāsa-pañcādyāyī'—in the tenth Skandha. Śrī Vallabhācārya (Samvat 1535—1589) while commenting on these chapters in his 'Subodhini Bhāṣya', quotes a relevant ancient text which describes how the 'maṇḍala'—the circle of the dancing party—was formed, with Śrīkṛṣṇa in the centre, playing on his flute and the Gopas and Gopīs occupying alternate places in the circle. The verse says :

"In between the two maids is Mādhava and between the two cowherds is a maiden. In the circle so formed Śrīkṛṣṇa, moving in the centre, played on his flute."<sup>1</sup>

The idea in this verse is found to have been transferred also to painting in as many as six paper Mss. of the anthology of Bālagopālastuti

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१ "अ'गनामंगनामन्तरे माधवो  
माधवं माधवं चान्तरेणाङ्गना ।  
इत्थमाकल्पिते मण्डले मध्यगः  
संलग्नौ वेणुना देवकीनन्दनः ॥"

by Bilvamaṅgala Līlā Śuka (13th century A. D.) done in the Gujarātī style of painting of the early 15th century, prior to the times of Śrī Vallabhācārya. This representation of the indigenous Rāsa dance, recorded both in poetry and painting is, therefore, significant for Western India (Pl. I. Figs. 1-3 ; see also p. 90).

In a painting in the Bāgh caves,—situated on an ancient road connecting Gujarāt with Mālwā—depicting a music party, is to be observed a typical scene from the life of medieval and modern Gujarāt. Probably nowhere else in India are women to be seen going round in a dance keeping time with small sticks, 'daṇḍaka' or 'daṇḍa', held in either hand. The peculiarity of this dance is that the women sing while they move round and dance. The Bāgh picture is unique in the pictorial history of India, as is also Gujarāt in its preservation of an old rite and custom, chiefly observed during the Navarātra festival at the end of the monsoon.

A sculptural representation, on the ceiling of a temple in Vadnagar—now known as Śītalā mātā's temple—shows a similar music party holding flute, drum, cymbals and other instruments in their hands. It is datable to the glorious period of Śolāṅki rule in Gujarāt.

The folk-dances having been patronised and popularised by the agriculturists and the cowherds of the type of the Vṛṣṇis, soon gained currency all over the country. So much so that with the march of time, this form of popular dance came to be recognised and adopted even by the refined sections of society. 'Rāsa' or 'Rāsaka,' 'Hallīṣa (śa)' or Hallīṣa (śa) ka and 'Lāśya'—are the three important terms that have found their way into the classical treatises on dramaturgy, like Bharata's standard 'Nāṭya Śāstra'. The various lexicons like the 'Abhidhānacintāmaṇi', the 'Medinī', the 'Deśināmamālā' and the 'Pāiṣya lachhi nāma mālā' explain the word 'hallisa (śa) ka' in the most general way as गोपल्लोकानां क्रीडाप्रकारः। This word of the people's common parlance has been shown to be almost synonymous with 'rāsa'¹.

Hallīsaka as an 'upa-rūpaka' has very little to distinguish itself from Rāsaka ; any way, both have a right to antiquity and should be regarded

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१ "रासयस्मि हल्लीसो । हल्लीसो रासको । मण्डलेन स्त्रीणां नृत्यम् ।"

as primitive dance-types. The Rāsa dance of today has been considered peculiar to the Gujarātī ladies. It is traceable to the fact that this 'rāsa' first originated in Saurāṣṭra, and it can be said that the underlying form of the Rāsa as played today is undoubtedly very old. Several ladies in appropriate garb, turning round a central object (in certain cases the object might be absent) sing some song mostly pertaining to Kṛṣṇa's sports with the Gopīs in accompaniment with the beating of drums which is helpful to them in keeping time. They go round and the movements vary according to the sentiment of the song and it may be that even in one and the same song variations in movement may be effected when the sentiment in the poem takes a marked turn.

A variation of the above practice occurs when men and women both take part in the dance, which originally represented Kṛṣṇa and Gopī, the feature being known to the Sanskrit dramaturgists in the following verse, very often quoted as the definition of the Hallīsaka or Rāsaka.<sup>1</sup> That this practice seems to be very old is apparent from its being connected with Kṛṣṇa's dance. Jayadeva in his Aṣṭapadī of the 'Gīta-govinda' 'rāse Haririha sarasavilāsam' etc., preserves the knowledge of the practice. It is evidently known to the Bhāgavatapurāṇa as noted above. Of course in Kṛṣṇa's time it must have existed only as a 'Nṛtta' form, as its remnant, the Rāsa of modern Gujarāt, shows. That it was a very popular pastime for the young people seems to be true, for it has been often described as attracting the Gopīs of Vraja and many a devotee of Kṛṣṇa has hankered after the enjoyment of this Rāsa.

The Gujarātī saint-poet Narasimha Mehtā in the 15th century has a legend woven round him that he actually witnessed the Rāsa in Kṛṣṇa's heaven and that he was standing in the centre of the circle with a torch in his hand and was absorbed so much in the spectacle that he became unconscious of the flames reaching down to his hand and burning it, till Kṛṣṇa himself saw and remedied it. Narasimha Mehtā has presented his reminiscences in his songs of 'Rāsa-sahasra-padī'.

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१ "यन्मण्डलेन नृत्तं स्त्रीणां हल्लीसकं तु तत्प्राहुः ।  
तत्रैको नेता स्याद् गोपस्तोणामिव मुरारिः ॥"





All these current legends and stories prove the immense popularity of this form of dance and its sanctity by its association with Kṛṣṇa. A Rāsaka in its origin must have been an elementary dance-form from which the 'upa-rūpaka' of 'Nāṭyarāsaka' must have evolved. A variation of the 'rāsa' known as 'daṇḍarāsaka' occurs under the 'upa-rūpaka' 'Pārijātakam' as mentioned in 'Bhavaprakāśana' ( G. O. Series, p. 268. )

There is some evidence to connect 'Rāsaka' with 'Lāśya'. It may be that both are identical terms. Rāsaka' is once actually called 'Lāsaka'. Again, 'Rāsa', the direct remnant of Rāsaka, is today seen in Western India which includes Saurāṣṭra. And there are positive statements showing that 'Lāśya' first originated further west, in Saurāṣṭra proper. Śrīkaṇṭha, the author of 'Rasakaumudī', who was the court poet of Jām Śatruśālya ( ca. 1574 A. D. ) notes in his chapter on 'Naṭīlakṣaṇa' that as far as the subtleties of the 'Lāśya' dance are concerned, the Gurjarī dancing woman is the best and she excels others,' perhaps as the type was indigenous to her Gurjaradeśa.

Hallīśaka and Rāsa or Rāsaka appear to be almost interchangeable terms. The dance in a circular motion ( maṇḍalākāra nṛtya ) wherein one leads and others follow, just as Śrī Kṛṣṇa led the Gopīs, the cowherd women ( 'ekastatra to netā syāta gopastriṇām yathā Hariḥ' )—such a dance is called Hallīśaka.

In this Rāsaka variety of the dance, embellished by various rhythmical strokes and melodies ( citralayānviṭam ) many dancers could join. The maximum number of couples that could partake in this dance was fixed up to sixty-four. The minimum of requisite women for participation in the dance has been laid down to be either sixteen, twelve or eight ; the dancers being of either sex change their movements as they dance in various artistic combinations.

Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharata's 'Nāṭyaśāstra' ( 9th century

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१ "नानाधिकमनोहरा किञ्च नदी हास्योत्तमा गुर्जरी ।"



A. D. ) describes the peculiarities of 'Rāsaka' and 'Hallīśaka.' Practically he quotes from ancient texts.<sup>1</sup>

These combinations vary according to the taste and humour of the people of different countries.

Rāsa or Hallīśaka had two styles or modes ; one tender, the other vehement or violent, comparable to the 'vilāmbita' and the 'druta (laya)' in classical music.<sup>2</sup>

The 'Bhāva-prakāśana' of Śāradātanaya, in the early 12th century, the 'Kāvya-anuśāsana' of Hemacandra Sūri and the 'Nāṭya-darpaṇa' of Sūri's two disciples, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, all the latter hailing from Gujarāt in the 12th century—these works practically draw upon the ancient texts with slight verbal changes.<sup>3</sup> The joint authors of the 'Nāṭya-darpaṇa' are more informative on the subject.

### १ तदुक्तं विरन्तैः ।

“मण्डलेन तु यन्नृत्यं हल्लीसकमिति स्मृतम् ।  
एकस्तत्र तु नेता स्याद्गोपस्त्रीणां यथा हरिः ॥  
अनेकनर्तकीयोज्यं चित्रताललयान्वितम् ।  
आचतुःषष्टियुगलाद्रासकं मसृणोद्धतम् ॥”

Cf. also शृंगारप्रकाश of भोज :—

‘यन्मण्डलेन नृत्यं स्त्रीणां हल्लीसकं तु तत्प्राहुः ।  
तल्लैको नेता स्याद्गोपस्त्रीणामिव मुरारिः ॥”

2. Vide 'Sāṅgītopaniṣatsāra' of Sudhākaraśa :—

“सुकुमारं तु तल्लास्यं ताण्डवं विषमाङ्गभृत् ।  
सर्वभेदान्वितं स्वर्गे नृत्यं प्रवर्तते सदा ॥  
स्वाङ्गो भूतं यद्गौर्या लास्यं तद्भक्तिजं स्मृतम् ।  
विषमं ताण्डवं रौद्रं रौद्रेण स्वाङ्गनिमित्तम् ॥”

3. (i) “मण्डलेन तु यन्नृत्यं तद्रासकमिति स्मृतम् ।

एकस्तत्र तु नेता स्याद्गोपस्त्रीणां यथा हरिः ॥”

भावप्रकाशने ।

(ii) “यन्मण्डलेन नृत्यं स्त्रीणां हल्लीसकं तु तत्प्राहुः ।

तल्लैको नेता स्याद्गोपस्त्रीणामिव मुरारिः ॥

षोडश द्वादशाष्टा वा यस्मिन् नृत्यन्ति नाय(यि)काः ।

पिण्डीबन्धादि विन्यासे रासकं तदुदाहृतम् ॥

भावभेदात् लास्यभेदो बहुधा कथ्यते बुधैः ।

तदेव नियमैर्हीनं देशे रुच्या प्रवर्तितम् । नाट्यदर्पणे ।

Three varieties of 'Rāsaka' are mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāstra : the 'latā-rāsaka', the 'daṇḍa-rāsaka' and the 'maṇḍala-rāsaka'.<sup>1</sup> This Rāsaka seems to have found much favour with popular taste, in course of time ; so much so that Bharata mentions it as a kind of a minor representation on the stage—an 'upa-rūpaka' even, in which the folk-dance predominates.<sup>2</sup> Curiously enough the modern Gujarātī stage seems to be unwittingly continuing this old tradition of representing dance on the stage wherein the heroine usually leads the dance.

Jinadatta Sūri, from Dholkā in Central Gujarāt (12th century), refers to 'lakuṭa-rāsa' played by males with a stick, which he ordains Jaina Sādhus not to witness.<sup>3</sup> Lakṣmaṇagaṇi ( A. D. 1143 ) while describing the action in a 'rāsaka' mentions that it is a song wherein high and low rhythms of strokes are intermixed.<sup>4</sup> In the 'Saptakṣetrī rāsa' ( Saṃvat 1327 ) both 'tālarāsa' and 'lakuṭarāsa' are mentioned, the former being indulged in by bards, the latter by dancers.

The origin of Nāṭya, the Bhārata Nāṭyaśāstra says was like this : In the beginning Brahmā gave the Nāṭya-veda to Bharata. Bharata together with groups of Gandharvas and Apsarās performed 'nāṭya, nṛtta' and 'nṛtya' before Śiva. Then Śiva having remembered his own majestic performance (Tāṇḍava) caused Bharata to be instructed in that ( art ) by his attendants (gaṇas). And before this, on account of his love (to Bharata) he gave to the latter instructions in 'Lāsyā' through Pārvatī. Knowing about 'Tāṇḍava' from Taṇḍu, sages spoke of it to mortals. Pārvatī on the other hand instructed Uṣā, the daughter of Bāṇa in 'Lāsyā'. The latter taught ( the art ) to the milk-maids of Dwārkā, and they taught this to

- १ 'लता रासकनाम स्यात्तत्त्रेधा रासक' स्मृतम् ।  
दण्डरासकमेकन्तु तथा मण्डलरासकम् ॥'

नाट्यशास्त्रे ।

2. For 'Rāsaka' as a 'rūpaka-bheda,' see Nāṭya-śāstra.  
3. See 'Apabhraṃśa Kāvya-trayī' ( G. O. Series No.37 ), Garuari, verse 19.  
4. "केपि उत्तलतालाकुलं रासकम् ।"  
See 'Prācīna Gurjara Kāvya-Saṅgraha', No 52.

women of other countries. In this manner this (art) was traditionally handed down and has come to stay in the world.

Just as Gujarāt has been known to be the accredited home of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and his 'Rāsa'—the circular male dance, and the beginnings of the tender form of the 'Lāsyā' meant for the fair sex, are also associated with Śrī Kṛṣṇa's family.

Śaṅgadeva, the author of 'Saṅgīta-ratnākara' has noted the traditional history of the birth, growth and evolution of 'Lāsyā,' the tender type of dance. In the seventh chapter on dancing he notes that Śiva taught 'Lāsyā' to Pārvatī, who in her turn taught it to Uṣā, the daughter of Bāṇa and the grand-daughter-in-law of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Uṣā acquainted the cowherd women of Dwārkā with this dance who in their turn spread it among the women-folk of Saurāṣṭra. By these Saurāṣṭra women again, ladies in the various countries were instructed; and thus the traditional knowledge of 'Lāsyā' dance has been handed down even upto the present day, in regular succession.<sup>1</sup>

Over and above the accredited association of Uṣā with the Lāsyā-tradition in Western India, two authors who flourished after Śaṅgadeva, have been traced to refer to another tradition linked with Arjuna, who, as the cursed eunuch Bṛhannala, taught the subtleties of Lāsyā dance, to Uttarā. This second tradition known for the first time from these Mss. materials, records the transmission of the style to the ladies of Dwārkā through an independent agency.

- १ (a) "लास्यमस्याग्रतः प्रीत्या पार्वत्या समदीदिशत् ॥  
 पार्वतो त्वनुज्ञास्तिस्म लास्यं बाणात्मजामुषाम् ।  
 तथा द्वारवतीगोप्यस्तामिः सौराष्ट्रयोषितः ॥  
 तामिस्तु शिक्षिता नार्यो नानाजनपदास्पदाः ।  
 एव परम्पराप्राप्तमेतल्लोके प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥"

संगीतरत्नाकरे नर्तनाध्यायः ।

Also see 'Rasakaumudī' by Śrīkanṭha (in Ms.)

Haripāladeva, the author of 'Saṅgīta Sudhākara' (early 14th century)<sup>1</sup> records both the traditions. He says, the technique (or knowledge) of 'Lāsyā' which causes delight (vilāsa) and is full of auspiciousness and leads to good things for all, was transmitted to Uṣā, the daughter of Bāṇa out of affection (or consideration) for her. She in turn expounded the style before the lasses of the cowherds of Dwārakā, which came to be later on handed down to the ladies of Saurāṣṭra with due regard. The second source of this dance came from Arjuna who was instructed in it by Indra. Arjuna passed on the knowledge of this wonderful style to Uttarā, who having been married to Abhimanyu carried her knowledge to Dwārakā and from there she transmitted it to the women of Dwārakā.

- (b) "लास्यं बाणसुतामुषां गिरिसुता शिक्षापयामास तत् ।  
साऽपि द्वारवतीसुतां व्रजवधूं सौराष्ट्रनारीं च सा ॥  
नानादेशसमुद्भवप्रियतमा शिक्षापिता तत्पुरे ।  
सौराष्ट्रिय वधूजनेन भुवि तज्जातं प्रसिद्धं क्रमात् ॥"  
रसकौमुद्यां पूर्वखंडे नृत्याध्याय नाम पंचमाध्याये ।
- (c) See Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā : (Ms. in B.O.R.I., Poona)  
"गोविन्दस्य च पार्थाय प्रायच्छद्भवेतवाहनः ।  
उषायै कन्यकायै च सोषा गोपीभ्य एव च ॥  
गोप्या सौराष्ट्रयोषिदुभ्यो नर्तकेभ्यश्च ता स्त्रियः ।  
एवं परम्पराप्राप्तं नर्तकस्य निरूपकम् ॥"
- (d) "लास्यं विलासजनकं मंगल्यं सर्वमंगलम् ।  
ददौ बाणस्य कन्यायै बहुमानपुरःसरम् ॥  
तदेतद् द्वारवत्याख्ये पुरे परबलार्दने ।  
अग्रे सोपकुमारीणां विवृणोति स्म सा पुनः ॥  
एतैस्सौराष्ट्रनारीषु स्थापितं ताभिरादरात् ।  
अर्जुनायोपदिष्टं तदुवासवेनार्जुनोऽपि च ।  
ददौ विराटकन्यायै तदेतत्परमाद्भुतम् ॥  
तथा जगत् त्रयाब्दादप्रदानपरया पुनः ।  
प्रस्तारविस्तृतधिया द्वारवत्यां प्रवातरत् ॥  
प्रकारद्वितयेनैतद् द्वारवत्यां तदद्भुतम् ।  
एवं परम्परायातं नृत्यं तन्मविशारदम् ॥"  
हरिपालदेवस्य संगीतसुधाकरे ।

And Sudhākalaśa, a Jaina disciple of Rājaśekhara Sūri records in his work 'Saṅgītopaniṣatsāra' or 'Saṅgītasāroddhāra' (Ms. in the Oriental Institute, Baroda) the double tradition, and tries to bring it down further, that Arjuna was initiated to 'Lāśya' through Citraratha Gandharva who transmitted it.

One should not, however, be led to think from the classical references quoted above that these dances are divested of their folk-element, and are preserved as a mere curio by the higher society. They were born from the very life-blood of the people, and remain 'of the people', even to-day.

Illustrations ( cf. pp. 81-83 ) :

Pl. I. 1. Rāsa kṛiḍā ; from a Bāla kṛṣṇa kṛiḍā-kāvya ( 15th century ).

I. 2. " ; " " " ( second series ; late 15th century ).

I. 3. Early 17th century illustration of the Bhāgavata Daśama Skandha ( in Gujarātī verse ).

(e) "उषा नाम्न्यां वाणपुत्र्यां लास्यं गौर्यास्ततोऽभवत् ।

गंधर्वविश्वावसुनाऽभ्यस्य नृत्यं त्रिविष्टपे ॥

शिष्येन चित्ररथाय स च पार्थ मशासयत् ।

शिष्ये तच्चार्जुनेनाऽपि विराटदुहितोत्तरां ॥

साऽभिमन्योश्च मरणाद्विसृज्यारखिलं तु तत् ।

हरमाराध्य तत्तस्मात् प्राप्तं पालकभूभृता ॥

विस्तृतं पृथिवीपीठे तन्नृत्यं तु ततो जने ।

शास्त्राण्यालोक्य तत्किं चिन्मयापि प्रतिपाद्यते ॥"

सुधाकलशविरचिते स्वोपक्ष

संगीतोपनिषद्ग्रन्थसारोद्गारे नृत्याङ्गोपाङ्ग

प्रत्यङ्ग प्रकारो नाम पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ।

## CLAY FIGURINES OF THE KUMARI-VRATAS OF BENGAL

by SUDHIR RANJAN DAS

Numerous are the clay figurines used in the Vrata rites, most of which are performed by the unmarried girls of Bengal. The Vrata observances are magical rites. Similar kinds of clay figurines have also been found amongst the terracotta figurines of Mohenjodāro and Harappā.

The clay figurines are used in the Yamapukur (Yama, the God of death; pukur, the tank) vrata or Yamabudī vrata (budī, the old woman) which is observed by the unmarried girls of Bengal throughout the month of Kārtika. To observe this Vrata a tank is dug in the courtyard with four openings at the four corners, and the figurines are placed on Tulsi (basil) leaves on all sides of the tank. Besides a Kachu plant, Tulsi (basil) and a banana are planted on the eastern side of the tank in front of which an earthen altar is to be made. The Yamabudī is to be placed on this altar. The clay figurines required for this particular observance are a female figurine (the grand-mother) with a child in her arm, a Brahmin and his wife, a washerman and his wife, a fisherman and his wife, three birds (crane, kite and crow) and two aquatic animals (turtle or tortoise and crocodile).

The figurines are made of clay brought from the nearest tank or river by the girls themselves who observe this Vrata. Several ingredients like jute or husk, cowdung, etc. are generally mixed with this clay for avoiding cracks when they are drying in the sun. The figurines are modelled by hand and sometimes a bamboo-pin is used for incision and polishing.

The figurines whether human or animal are given basic shapes and no attempt is made of indicating the fingers, toes, etc. The torso of

the body with cones for arms suffices. The image of Yamabudī however in whose honour this Vrata is observed is almost complete with hands, legs, etc. which are entirely lacking in the other 'figurines'; these are more or less busts only. The eyes are oval and the eye-balls are affixed in the shape of earthen pellets. In almost all the terracotta figurines of the historical periods the eyes are incised.<sup>1</sup> But the 'applied eye' is very common in the pre-historic periods.<sup>2</sup> The figurines are provided with a lump of clay forming a base on which they stand. All these figurines are completely nude. The nudity is due to the sacredness attached to these figurines or to the fact that they are used in magic. There is but little ornamentation, a sacred thread being indicated by incisions. Bust-figurines have also been found amongst the ruins of Harappā (Pl. Lxxvii, 34).<sup>3</sup> The animal figurines comprise birds and aquatics. Crow, crane and kite are modelled by pinching as in Mohenjodāro. Turtle or tortoise and the fish eating crocodile used in the Vrata have also been found amongst the terracotta figurines of Mohenjodāro and Harappā (Pls. Lxxvii, 21 ; Lxxxx. 6) <sup>4</sup>.

In a previous article on the "Ālpanās of the Kumārī vratas of Bengal" I have tried to show that the Ālpanās used in the Vrata observances are closely connected with the magical rites as practised by numerous primitive tribes of India as well as of other countries of the world.<sup>5</sup> Similarly the worship of these clay figurines is associated with magic.

1. JISOA, vol. xi. 1943 ; p. 166.

2. It is practically found in Mesopotamia and India alone. See Marshall, 'Mohenjodaro and Indus-Valley Civilisation', Vol. I. p. 340.

Dr. Mackay thinks that the practice of applied eye forms originated in the middle East. See 'Further Excavation at Mohenjodaro', vol. I. p. 262.

3. Vats, 'Excavations at Harappā', vol. I. p. 97.

4. M. S. Vats, vol. I. p. 303 ; Mackay, vol. I. p. 285. ; Marshall, vol. I. p. 348. Turtle figurines have also been found amongst the most ancient ruins of many countries of the world like Egypt, Susa, etc. See Petrie, 'Pre-historic Egypt', p. 18. Marshall, vol. I. 348. Compare Pls. xciv-xcvi ; Vats, vol. I. pp. 333-340, 430-436. There are also figurines of crocodiles on the seals.

5. JISOA, vol. xi. 1943.

Of the human figurines, the most important is the grand-mother with the child in her arm. She is the Mother-goddess, worshipped for the purpose of procuring offspring or as a thanks-offering for child birth or becoming an ideal wife in the next world. She is the bestower of fertility.<sup>1</sup> The worship of the Mother-goddess is very ancient ; it is essentially pre-Aryan in India. Even now most of the primitive tribes worship the Mother-goddess. The Mother-goddess received however Brahminical sanction as Śakti, i. e. the female manifestation of Energy. She is believed to have control over magical power and the secret operations of nature. Śakti imparts her power to her devotees, if properly propitiated. Besides, in this particular Vrata ancestor worship plays its part. According to this Vrata story the grand-mother suffered from lack of water in the place of Yama ; her son's wife redeemed her from this pitiable condition by offering water to her. By the observance of this particular Vrata the ancestors are thus provided with water after their death. This is also clear from the chaḍā or spells which are uttered at the time of offering water. The other human figurines are represented in couples which indicates their magical significance in a fertility cult. The human figurines of this Vrata rite are worshipped along with the chanting of incantations to obtain offspring or as thanks-offering for children or as a magical rite to relieve the ancestors from sufferings and distress. The animal figurines are worshiped for the same purpose.

We have traced the continuation of the Mohenjodāro technique in the clay figurines of Bengal. The Mohenjodāro figurines are more sophisticated and wear numerous ornaments and head dresses. In spite of their simplicity, however, the Kumārī vrata figurines possess magical

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1. Similar figurines have also been found at Mohenjodāro and Harappā (pl. xcv, 24, 29, 30). Compare Marshall, vol. I. p. 49. ; Mackay, vol. I. p. 624. Gordon doubts the exact status of the figurines at Mohenjodāro excepting those with elaborate head-dresses and ornaments. See JISOA, vol. xi, 1943, p. 177-178. Such figurines of the Mother-Goddesses have also been found in the ruins of the historical period. 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art' by Coomaraswamy, p. 21. Recent excavation at Ahicchatra has brought to light numerous terracotta figurines, most of which are not earlier than the 8th century A. D. The majority of them are representations of the Mother-Goddess ; some have a child in their lap. See 'Proceedings of the 13th Science Congress', 1943. p. 179.



energy. By worshipping them, i. e. by performing certain rites with them, the performer desires to achieve certain objects. These rites and performances are disappearing in 'advanced' and so called civilised villages but in the remotest hamlets they are still practised.

Similar ritual practices were observed in earlier times. Miniature Terracotta tanks have been discovered in the remains of Sirkap, Taxila, dating from the 2nd century B. C. to the 3rd century A. D. One of them has been published ( Archaeological Survey of India, A. R., 1915-16, Pl. viii a ). It is  $10\frac{1}{2}$ " square and  $2\frac{1}{4}$ " deep. Each of these tanks is provided with a chamber-like shrine at one side. A flight of steps descends from the shrine to the bottom of the tank. In two tanks a female figurine has been placed in the shrine while in others the figurine is standing on the right side of the steps. There are four lamps in each corner of the rim and perched midway between the lamps are four birds. Inside the tank are aquatic animals, a tortoise, a frog, etc. These terracotta votive tanks are similar to the tank dug today in the courtyard of a Bengali village home for the observance of the Kumārī vrata rite. The female figurine who is, no doubt, a Goddess is most probably the 'yamabudī', the Mother-goddess or Goddess of fertility. The steps may indicate an ascent to heaven by the performance of this rite.

In the Vrata tank there is an altar on which the 'yamabudī' is seated. This altar serves the purpose of the shrine in the terracotta tanks. There are however no lamps at the corners of the Vrata tank, but the figurines of birds and aquatic animals are present.

## A PAINTED BOOK COVER FROM NEPAL

by MONOTOSH MOOKERJEE

The wooden covers of Ms. No. 4077 (Government collection, R.A.S.B) throw welcome light on the history of miniature painting in India. The manuscript contains a number of works all pertaining to the Śivaite persuasion : (1) Śivadharmasāstraṃ, (2) Śivadharmottara, (3) Śivadharmasaṃgraha, (4) Umāmaheśvara-Saṃvāda, (5) Śivopaniṣad, Umottara or Uttarottara Tantra (6) Vṛṣasāra Saṃgraha, and (7) Lalitavistara. The measurement of the folios is approximately 22 x 2 inches.

The manuscript is very much damaged and worm-eaten. A good many number of pages appear to be missing. The Lalitavistara of the present manuscript is not the celebrated Buddhist text of the same name but a Śaiva work known also as Umāmaheśvarottarāttarottara Saṃvāda. The Ms. of this work was copied, according to the post-colophon statement, in (Newari) Saṃvat 156 during the reign of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrī Lakṣmīkāmadeva. This Newari date works out to 1036 A. D. The Mss. of the other works also appear to belong to about the same period on palaeographical grounds.

The wooden covers (22½" x 2½") are each embellished with paintings on the inside. There is, however, no painting in the manuscript itself. The style and execution of the paintings would indicate that the covers are much later than the date of the manuscript. On one cover we have the story of the Liṅgodbhava-mūrti (scenes 2-4 are shown as Fig. 2, p. 101) and on the other are represented various gods worshipping the Liṅga.<sup>1</sup>

The cover with the story of the Liṅgodbhava-mūrti shows beginning from the left an illustration of the primeval flood, here represented by

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1. The blocks were made over to me by Prof. Dr. Niharrajan Roy, University of Calcutta.

wavy lines with the pictures of a fish, a conch, and an indistinct aquatic object. The next panel presents Viṣṇu reclining on the coils of Ananta in the waters of the primeval flood. From his navel shoots up a lotus-flower on which sits the god Brahmā. Both the gods have two hands each, and the colour of each is yellow. Viṣṇu holds a conch in his left hand. Behind Brahmā is seen a circular halo formed by concentric bands of various colours. The next panel shows the god Brahmā standing in three-quarter profile, with four hands and one head. The two left hands hold a water vessel and a manuscript ; of the two right hands one is in *vyākhyāna-mudrā* and the other holds perhaps a rosary. Coils of hair are shown as hanging down from the head—the colour is yellow. Facing Brahmā stands the god Viṣṇu, also in three-quarter profile, bedecked with ornaments ; he has four hands with 'padma', 'cakra', 'gadā' and 'śaṅkha', his usual attributes. The colour is greenish blue. Next we have the representation of a pillar, much of which is damaged. In the next panel we see god Brahmā flying up on his mount, the swan, and correspondingly god Viṣṇu on Garuḍa is shown upside down as penetrating into the nether world. The next panel introduces an ascetic with a long beard and matted locks tucked over his head. He stands in three-quarter profile, the right hand held in 'vyākhyāna'. Next to him are shown the gods Brahmā and Viṣṇu facing each other. In the next panel are shown the gods Brahmā and Viṣṇu, each standing with folded hands before a column with flames issuing out of its body. In the last panel are also shown the same gods before a column with the representation of a head on each of its sides. Brahmā with his four hands is standing with the pose of 'vyākhyāna' in his right hand while Viṣṇu is shown with folded hands before the column which no doubt, represents a Mukha-liṅga, with the front head bearing the Trinetra or three eyes of Śiva. ♦

The illustrations on the second cover are divided into 12 panels, each containing the figure of a Śiva-liṅga being worshipped by a divinity seated on a lotus throne. Each of these deities is shown in the act of placing an offering of a flower on the Liṅga by the right hand. Each of the gods has a cushion at the back and is provided with a halo round the head.

Beginning from the left the first panel shows a four handed god, yellow in colour and seated on a lotus throne, worshipping the Liṅga shown blue in colour. The attributes, except the flower offering in the main right hand, are indistinct. The next panel shows the god Viṣṇu of bluish colour worshipping the Liṅga of similar colour. Viṣṇu holds the offering of flowers in the main right hand and 'śaṅkha' and 'gada' in the upper right and left hands. The lower left, placed on the knee, holds an indistinct object. In the third panel the Śiva-liṅga as well as the four handed deity worshipping it are yellow in complexion. The god holds a trident in the upper left hand and offers a flower with the main right hand. The god has a third eye shown vertically on the forehead. In the fourth panel the Liṅga as well as the two-handed deity worshipping it are red in colour. The latter holds a flower offering in the right hand and a lotus flower in the left.

The design of a pillar demarcates the four panels ( three of which are illustrated below, Fig. 1 ) from the next four panels.



Fig. 1

The representation of a pillar demarcates also the four central panels from the last four panels.

The ninth panel shows a fat two-handed deity ( colour : yellow with a slight reddish tone ) worshipping the Liṅga ( colour : yellow with a slight reddish tone ) with flower offering in the right hand and the left holding an uncertain object probably a noose. The next panel portrays a two-handed deity, colour reddish, worshipping the Liṅga,

colour reddish, with flower offering in the right hand and a lotus bud in the left. The eleventh panel shows a two-handed deity, colour yellow with a slight greenish tinge, with flower offering in the right and a sword in the left worshipping the Liṅga, colour reddish. In the last panel we find a two-handed deity of greenish blue colour worshipping the Liṅga of slight reddish tinge. The deity holds the usual flower offering in the right hand and the left holds some object which cannot be identified. The god has a third eye on the forehead and there is no crown on his head, as is usual in all other panels except the third and also probably the first. Instead, the hair is shown as falling in curls.

The first cover illustrates the well-known legend of the Liṅgodbhava-mūrti, described in detail in the Āgamas and the Purāṇas. The text of the 'Śivadharmā' of the present manuscript also gives the story in a nutshell. Though the various details have been left out of the present text, there is no fundamental divergence of the 'Śivadharmā' story from that of the Āgamas and the Purāṇas. The main theme of the legend is that Śiva appeared in the form of a blazing pillar of immeasurable size to quell the pride and quarrels of Brahmā and Viṣṇu with regard to the question of the superiority of the one over the other. The story in the different texts has been summarised by Rao in his 'Elements of Hindu Iconography' ( Vol. II. pp.105-7 ). The illustrations, however, on the present cover differ in many respects from the Āgamic and Paurāṇic versions of the story. In the first part of the story it is related how during the disputes of Brahmā and Viṣṇu, there appeared before them a flaming pillar of immeasurable size and at this curious phenomenon Brahmā and Viṣṇu stopped their quarrels, the former flying up in the shape of a swan to ascertain the top and the latter digging down to reach the bottom of the pillar. The episode of the appearance of the flaming pillar is left out in the present representation of the story, though we find Brahmā on his swan flying up and Viṣṇu on Garuḍa going down to reach the top and bottom respectively of the pillar, which has not been shown. A flaming pillar, however, appears towards the end of the present representation before which Brahmā and Viṣṇu are shown with folded hands, and it is this flaming pillar which apparently manifests itself as the Mukha-liṅga in the last panel which the two gods are made to worship as the supreme deity

of the universe. The figure of the bearded ascetic, shown towards the middle of the representation, also introduces a new element in the story. It appears that after the failure of Brahmā and Viṣṇu to reach the top and bottom respectively of the pillar this ascetic has been introduced in the present narration of the story to explain the nature and character of the strange phenomenon and it is perhaps on account of the ascetic's exhortations that the two gods came to be acquainted with the mystery of the phenomenon and thus to regard Śiva as the supreme Lord of the universe whom they worship once in the shape of a flaming pillar and then in the form of Mukha-liṅga in the last two panels.

In<sup>7</sup> the second cover various gods are represented worshipping the Liṅga. The text of the 'Śivadharma' of the present manuscript also describes how the different gods, such as Brahmā, Indra, Kuvera, Viśvedevā, Vāyu, Viṣṇu, the eight Vasus, the two Aśvinīkumāras, Varuṇa, Agni, Sūrya, Candra, the Rākṣasas, the Piśācas, the Guhyakas, the Divine Mothers, etc., worshipped the Liṅga. Many gods of this list may be recognised in the different panels of the present cover. The first and the second panels may be identified respectively as those of Brahmā and Viṣṇu worshipping the Liṅga. The third panel is apparently the representation of the god Śiva worshipping the Liṅga. The trident in one of the hands, the vertical third eye on the forehead, and the matted locks instead of the usual crown on the head clearly support this identification. Liṅga is but a form of Śiva himself and Śiva worshipping the Liṅga may appear to be strange. In Indian religious philosophy and art the deity is frequently shown in the pose of a yogī immersed in deep meditation. A passage in the Mahābhārata, may help to explain the mystery of a god shown as a yogī or in the act of worshipping. Nārada once visited the Badarikāśrama to see Nara and Nārāyaṇa. He finds Nārāyaṇa engaged in the act of worshipping; bewildered at this (because Nārāyaṇa was himself an object of worship) Nārada asks him about the latter's object of devotion. The god tells him that he was worshipping his original Prakṛti ('Parā-Prakṛti'), the source of all that is and all that is to be. On this analogy the present panel may clearly be identified as Śiva worshipping the Liṅga, which he considers to be his original Prakṛti and hence the supreme force in the universe. Among the other panels we may recognise Indra worshipping the Liṅga in the sixth

panel. The identity of the god is certain because of the 'vajra' held in one of the hands and the horizontal third eye<sup>1</sup> on the forehead, which according to the iconographic texts are distinctive cognisances of Indra. The ninth panel probably shows Varuṇa as a fat two-handed deity, with perhaps a noose in one of his hands, worshipping the Liṅga. The crimson god of the fourth panel holding a full-blown lotus flower in the left hand may probably be identified with Sūrya, the Sun-god worshipping the Liṅga. The Liṅga of reddish copper colour, as shown in the present panel, may also support this identification, as according to the 'Śivadharmā' text Sūrya is enjoined to worship a Liṅga made of copper.

The identification of the other panels is difficult because of the lack of sufficient details which help in the identification. Among these may probably be recognised some of the other gods who are mentioned in the 'Śivadharmā' text as worshipping the Liṅga. In the last panel may be identified one of the Viśvedevās worshipping the Liṅga. The Viśvedevās according to the 'Viṣṇudharmottaram'<sup>2</sup> are to be represented like Indra with a third eye on the forehead. The third eye on the forehead of the deity of the present panel may hence lend some support to this hypothesis. The god with the sword in one of his hands may probably be identified as one of the eight Vasus worshipping the Liṅga.

The paintings are executed directly on the wooden covers without any backing of cloth, which is the usual practice in later periods. Over the polished surface of wood there is a priming of white on which the illustrations are drawn in ochre. The different sections are then filled up with pigments, green, blue, yellow and red being the principal ones. The outlines are emphasised by thick brush lines of deeper tones.

The paintings belong to the general type of Eastern Indian paintings. Nepal, though within the orbit of the Eastern Indian tradition, developed certain individual peculiarities in the course of time; they are clearly

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1. Śuklaścaturviṣāṇo dvīpo Mahendrasya Vajrapāṇitvam | Tiryagalālāṭasamsthām tṛtīyamapi locanamapi cibham || Bṛhat Samhitā, vii, 42. Tiryagalālāṭagenākṣmā Kartavyaśca Vibhūṣitaḥ | Viṣṇudharmottaram.

2. Viśvedevāstathā Kīryāḥ Śakrarūpadharāḥ surāḥ | Tiryagalālāṭagenākṣmā..... | Viṣṇudharmottaram, LXXii.

apparent in these illustrations. On stylistic considerations they belong to a rather later phase. A number of Buddhist manuscripts, dating from the 10th century A. D., are embellished with miniature paintings, both inside and on the covers. Brahminical paintings of this order are relatively rare. In this connection reference may be made to a manuscript of the 'Piṅgalamata', a Tāntrik work of great importance, copied during the reign of King Rudradeva in Nepal Samvat 294 (1174 A. D.). The paintings on the covers of this manuscript agree with those under examination in style and execution, and on account of this the paintings may be placed to about the same period, i. e. the late 12th Cent. or early 13th Century A. D. As regards quality the paintings of the present Ms. are poor and decadent. The manuscript of the 'Lalitavistara' was copied in 1036 A. D. and the other manuscripts, also, belong to about the same date on palaeographical grounds. The covers, hence, appear to be much later than the date of the manuscript. Miniature paintings of this date are not many. We do however know a large number of the earlier and later periods. These paintings are important, hence, as supplying a valuable link between the early and later phases of Nepalese painting.



Fig. 3.



## VĀSAVADATTA AND ŚAKUNTALĀ SCENES IN THE RĀṆĪGUMPHĀ CAVE OF ORISSA

by V. S. AGRAWALA

The caves in the Udayagiri hill in Orissa are well-known for the inscription of King Khāravela engraved in one of the caves known as the Hāthīgumphā. The other important caves in the Udayagiri group are the Rāṇīgumphā and the Gaṇeśagumphā. These two caves are of very great interest on account of their sculptures. On the basis of the style of their architecture and sculpture these caves were rightly adjudged by Fergusson to belong to a period as early as the 2nd century B. C.<sup>1</sup> The inscription of King Khāravela connects the caves with the Jaina religion. The sculptures in these caves seem to illustrate stories but they have not so far been identified.

The frieze occupying the upper part of the verandah of the upper storey in the Rāṇīgumphā cave contains seven bas-reliefs within the interspaces of the eight doorways. Of the scenes in the frieze of the Gaṇeśagumphā only two are of major importance.

Scenes 1 to 7 in the Rāṇīgumphā cave have been amply illustrated by Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra in his 'Antiquities of Orissa', Vol. II (1880), plates VI to XI and the two scenes of the Gaṇeśagumphā on plate XV and XVI of the same book. They were described in detail in the "Cave Temples of India" (Fergusson and Burgess, 1880, pp. 81-84, Rāṇīgumphā, and pp. 86-88, Gaṇeśagumphā). Briefly they may be described as follows :

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1. Cf. however Bachhofer, 'Early Indian Sculpture', p. 50; Pls. 137-139.

(A) Rāṇīgumphā. Scene 1 : ( Mitra, Plate VI ) a celestial figure carrying a basket of lotus garlands.

Scene 7 ( Mitra, Plate VI ). The counter-part of scene 1 on the proper left hand side of the frieze.

Scene 2 represents three elephants who seem to be attacking a panicky crowd. In the fore-front are shown a female and a male figure defending themselves with a heavy club. Behind them are a number of female figures either seeking shelter in various attitudes of consternation, or by their gesture offering to assist in repelling the attack. Fergusson incorrectly thought that it probably represented some episode in the story of the conquest of Ceylon by Vijaya where elephants, Yakṣas, and Yakṣiṇīs performed important parts. ('Cave Temples', p. 81)

Scene 3 is one of the best preserved and most interesting of the series. It consists of eight figures, four male and four female, in four groups. The first represents a man apparently asleep inside a doorway, and a woman sitting by him watching. In front of these is a woman leading a man by the hand apparently to introduce him to the first pair. Beyond this on the right a man and a woman are engaged in mortal combat holding swords and shields in their hands. Beyond these on the extreme right a man carries off in his arms a woman who still bears her shield in her hand though she has dropped the sword, and is pointing with the finger of her right hand towards the fighting first pair. ( Mitra, Plate VIII, p. 8 ; 'Cave Temples', p. 82 ). This scene is repeated on the frieze of the Gaṇeśagumphā and is often described as the rape scene.

Scene 4 : In the first part of the bas-relief are three attendants, a horse and its groom restraining him. The foremost attendant holds a fly-whisk in his right hand and a 'chatra' in his left which shows that the principal figure who has alighted from the horse is a king. In the second part of the carving the royal figure is shown holding a bow in his left hand and arrows in the right and about to shoot at a herd of deer running in front of him. In between them is a blossoming tree. In the third part of the story we see the royal personage having withdrawn his bow from action which is now hung

on the left arm. He is standing in front of a tree on which is seated a young female figure. At the foot of the tree is a deer. Fergusson identified this as a scene from the Sama Jātaka which is very doubtful. (Mitra, Plate IX, p. 8; 'Cave Temples', p. 83).

Scene 5 carved in the central compartment, shows a group of female figures apparently approaching to worship a saint seated cross-legged. (Mitra, Plate X, pp. 8-9; 'Cave Temples', p. 83).

Scene VI: The scene consists of three amorous couples seated on couches and enjoying drinks. It is similar to those depicted at Sāñcī. (Mitra, Plate XI, p. 9; 'Cave Temples', pp. 83-84).

(B) Gaṇeśagumphā.—The frieze in the upper storey of the Gaṇeśagumphā consisted of three complete and two half reliefs. Two only are carved with figures. The end ones and the centre compartment are filled with the traditional 'Buddhist rails'.

Scene 1: Of the remaining two scenes one contains a repetition of the abduction scene of the Rāṇīgumphā cave. 'There are the same eight persons, and all similarly employed in both. Only that in this one the sculpture is very superior to that in the other and the attitude of the figures more easy and graceful.' ('Cave Temples', p. 87; Mitra, Plate XV, p. 10).

Scene 2: The bas-relief contains 16 persons. In the first part of the story we see a party of soldiers on foot, dressed in kilts and moving in the act of pursuing. In front of them are three persons on an elephant. The hindmost is a male figure showering coins from a purse. The middle one is also a male figure, more prominent than the first one and shooting with bow and arrows in the direction of the pursuing soldiers. The third person is a woman driving the elephant with a goad held in her right hand. A tree separates this scene from the next one. In the second part of the scene the elephant is kneeling down on the ground and the riders are alighting. In the third part of the scene we see the same three persons standing and moving. The last one has a big bundle or a container on his shoulder. In the fourth scene the female figure is seated on a rich cushion in a disconsolate mood and her companion is trying to console her. (Mitra, Plate XVI, p. 10; 'Cave Temples', p. 88.)

These two scenes were also illustrated by wood-cut blocks on plate 44, Vol. VII ( 1838 ) of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Major Kittoe as part of his Journal on a tour in Orissa ; pp. 679-685).

The important point about these different scenes forming part of the two friezes is the fact that they illustrate independent scenes. As remarked by Dr. R. L. Mitra "each frame is complete by itself and except in outline and general character bears no relation to its neighbour". ( 'Antiquities of Orissa', Vol. II, p. 4 ). Fergusson remarked : "At one time I was inclined to believe that the stories represented in the sculptures here and in the Raṇīka-Nur ( i. e. Rāṇīgumphā ) were continuous and formed part of one connected history. A more careful study, however, of the matter with the increased knowledge we now possess, has convinced me that this is not the case, and that each division in the storeyed bas-relief must be treated as separate subject. In this instance ( i. e., Gaṇeśagumphā ) it seems the sculptor purposely left the central compartment blank in order to separate the two so completely that no one should make the mistake of fancying there was any connection between them." ( 'Cave Temples', p. 87 ).

It is possible to identify with some certainty the second scene in the Gaṇeśagumphā cave with an episode in the Vāsavadattā story. Scene 5 of Rāṇīgumphā frieze seems to represent the story of Śakuntalā.

Vāsavadattā-Udayana story. The clue to this identification is furnished by three terracotta plaques recently discovered from the ancient site of Kauśāmbī, once the capital of King Vatsarāja Udayana. They are now deposited in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Benares, and all are obviously from the same original mould. They illustrate the tensest part of the Vāsavadattā-Udayana legend, the flight of the lovers from Ujjayinī on the back of a female elephant in the company of their court jester Vasantaka. The Kauśāmbī plaques have been published in detail in the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society by Rai Krishnadasa.<sup>1</sup> In this

1. A Vāsavadattā-Udayana Terracotta Plaque from Kauśāmbī, by Rai Krishnadasa, Curator, Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Benares ; Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, Panna Lall Special Number, 1945, pp. 82-90.

new light the scene in the Gaṇeśagumphā cave becomes clear. Both in the stone-relief and the terracotta plaque the pursuers at the back of the elephant are the soldiers of the king of Ujjayinī. They are divided from their main job by Vasantaka who from his seat on the back of the elephant is raining a shower of coins which the soldiers greedily begin to pick up. In the terracotta plaque Udayana is seated on the elephant and holds the lute Ghoṣavatī in his right hand. In the sculpture he is shown shooting at the soldiers. The pose of Vāsavadattā is identical both in the terracotta and the stone-relief. She is driving her own elephant with a goad in her right hand. Whereas the terracotta plaque depicts only the flight scene, the stone-relief supplements it by adding a couple of subsidiary related scenes enacted in Udayana's capital at Kauśāmbī. In the second part of the scene separated from the first by a tree which marks the end of the forest Udayana and Vāsavadattā are out of danger and seem to have reached their capital. They are alighting from the elephant who is kneeling on the ground. In the third part Vasantaka is shown with a bag on his shoulder, evidently the bag of coins, and Udayana is leading Vāsavadattā into his palace. The fourth scene shows the disconsolate lady Vāsavadattā inside the harem and the king is engaged in consoling her.

The story of Udayana is at present available in Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical literature;<sup>2</sup> but it is essentially a love romance and there

2. The Hindu version of the Vāsavadattā-Udayana episode occurs in the 2nd book of the Kathāsaritsāgarī as a part of the whole legend of Udayana. The dramas of Bhāsa and later on of Harṣa are versions of the story. The Buddhist form of the story is found in the early Pāli literature and all the versions have been discussed by Burlingame in his book 'Buddhist Legends', Part I, p. 62 (HOS 28). Although references to Udayana are found in a germinal form in the Jaina Āgama literature, specially the Āvaśyakasūtra, the complete love story of Udayana and Vāsavadattā is given only in the three later Jaina works, viz., the Triṣaṣṭīśalākā-purnjacaritra of Hemacandra (12th century), the Kumārapāla-pratibodha of Somaprabha (1185 A. D.), and the Mṛgāvatī-Charitra of Maladhāri-Devaprabha (13th century). The commentary of Haribhadra on the Āvaśyakasūtra was one of the sources of Devaprabha.

In the latest issue of the Journal of the American Oriental Society (December 1946) the Jaina version of the Vāsavadattā story is discussed under the heading "Udayana-Vāsavadattā Romance in Hemacandra", by Helen M. Johnson, pp. 295-298.

are no differences based on religion in the main outline of the story. The scene relating to the flight of Vāsavadattā and Udayana on the elephant from Ujjayinī forms a common part of all the versions. The terracotta plaques from Kosam and the stone-reliefs in the Udayagiri cave—both assignable to the 2nd century B. C.—provide the archaeological evidence of the main episode of the Udayana legend as it was current in north and east India. The main outlines are essentially the same in both, the only notable difference being the presence of the lute Ghoṣavatī in the hands of Udayana in the terracotta scene and its absence in the stone-relief.

The lute plays a prominent part in the drama of Bhāsa and the version of the story on the terracotta with the lute in it may have been based on the same original as the drama of Bhāsa.

'Scene of the mad elephant'.—Scene 2 of the Rāṇigumphā frieze (Mitra, Plate VII) can easily be identified with one of the well-known episodes in the Udayana legend, viz., the scene of the infuriated elephant Nalagiri of the king of Ujjayinī getting out of control and attacking a panicky crowd in a public street and his ultimate pacification by the musical charm of Udayana. In the story of Hemacandra the scene occurs as follows :

"One day Nalagiri pulled up his post, knocked down two elephant-drivers and, roaming as he liked, terrified the townspeople. 'How is that elephant, which is controlled by no one, to be subdued?' the king asked Abhaya who suggested, 'Have King Udayana sing.' Commanded by the king, 'Sing to Nalagiri', Udayana and Vāsavadattā sang to him. As a result of hearing his song, the elephant Nalagiri was thrown and made captive. Then the king gave Abhaya another boon which he kept in reserve also."

'Rape scene'.—The so-called rape scene in the Rāṇigumphā and Gaṇeśagumphā caves cannot be identified with any certainty. The first half of the relief depicting two pairs of male and female figures have a seeming connection with the Vāsavadattā story viz., Udayana thrown into prison as a captive by King Caṇḍa Pradyota and Vāsavadattā stealthily visiting him. In the second scene Vāsavadattā or a female attendant is leading Vasantaka into the presence of Udayana. But the

third and the fourth scenes viz., the scene of the mortal combat between a man and a woman and the forceful carrying away of the latter by the former do not agree with this explanation.

Royal hunting scene. Duṣyanta Śakuntalā scene. The whole make-up of this very interesting scene (No. 4 in Rāṇīgumphā cave; Mitra, Plate IX) unmistakably points to the story of King Duṣyanta visiting the hermitage of sage Kaṇva and falling in love at first sight with Śakuntalā. The different stages in the relief are definite and clear. In the beginning the king arrives with his soldiers; his own presence is indicated by a horse with empty back followed by an attendant holding a fly-whisk and an umbrella, the two signs of royalty. In the next scene the king is hunting and shoots his arrows at a herd of frightened deer. In the third scene the leader of the herd has ushered the king into the presence of a beautiful woman. The king has withdrawn his bow and is in the act of looking at her or conversing with her. The female figure rests on the lower branch of a tree and the deer crouches at the foot of the tree.

This version of the story is nearer to the legend of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā as given in the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata (chapters 63-64, Poona critical edition). It is stated there that Duṣyanta once equipped a hunting expedition and following his game from one forest to another reached the hermitage of sage Kaṇva. Leaving his army and ministers behind he entered the hermitage alone. He found it lonely except for a maiden who was the daughter of the sage and who entered into conversation with him. The king cunningly accosted her by saying that he had come to pay his homage to Ṛṣi Kaṇva. The girl thereupon said that her father had left for another part of the forest to gather fruits. Then the king questioned her as to her identity and as to how the sage Kaṇva practising self-control could have her as his daughter. Śakuntalā in reply related the story of her birth from the union of Menakā with Viśvāmitra. As soon as she had finished, the king openly<sup>1</sup> offered his love to her which she after some hesitation and

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सुष्यकराजपुत्री त्वं यथा कल्याणि भावसे ।  
भार्या मे भव सुभ्रोगि ब्रूहि किं करवाणि ते ॥

assurance accepted. In this simple fabric there is no place for the female friends of Śakuntalā viz., Priyamvadā and Anasuyā whom Kālidāsa introduces in his drama for the first time and also none of the sophisticated overtures of love from either side.

Thus we find in the caves of Udayagiri hill the representation of the two most important love romances of ancient India, the story of Vāsavadattā and Śakuntalā.<sup>1</sup> The story of Vāsavadattā is referred to by the celebrated grammarian Patañjali who wrote his Mahābhāṣya in the reign of Puṣyamitra Śūṅga in the 2nd century B. C., a contemporary of King Khāravela when the group of Udayagiri caves was excavated. These romantic love stories formed part of the common literary and art heritage of ancient India and their introduction in the repertoire of carvings in the Jain caves in the extreme east of India is proof of their universal popularity.

1. Dr. Motichandra however writes :

"I identify the scene depicting the hunting of a winged deer with the Śarabhamiga Jātaka (No. 483). The appearance of a Buddhist Jātaka in a Jain shrine need not surprise us as many Jātakas could be traced 'verbatim' in Jain literature, of course elucidating the Jain moral. The story runs as follows :

"The Bodhisattva was once born as a winged deer. The king of Benares once went out hunting with his courtiers, who contrived to drive the winged deer near the king ; he shot, the winged deer rolled over as if hit, but soon got up and ran away. The courtiers laughed and the king set off in pursuit of the winged deer. During the chase he fell into a pit, and the winged deer taking pity on him rescued him from the pit and taught him the Law."

"In the first part of the relief the king with his courtiers and horse is shown aiming at the winged deer. It is no ordinary deer but a winged one, 'Śarabha', which is accompanied with what appears to be a human faced doe. In the next stage of the relief the king stands apparently rescued from the pit. The hind part of the rescued deer is bent which probably indicates that it had lowered it into the pit so that holding it the king could be dragged out. On the extreme right is a tree goddess witnessing the scene. This device has apparently no connection with the story and may be purely meant as space-filler."



# **NRTTA MAÑJARĪ**

THE 62 FUNDAMENTAL SEQUENCES  
OF MOVEMENT IN BHĀRATA NĀṬYAM

by **LEELA ROW**

## **INTRODUCTION**

Bhārata Nāṭyam, or Dāsi Aṭṭam of South India, is considered the most ancient and technically, the purest form of classical dancing in India today. It derives all its movements from the principles laid down by Bharata Muni and other great sages. It used to be performed all over India, but is now on the verge of extinction, partly on account of the dearth of able teachers, and partly because it is a very strenuous and complicated type of dance. There are, however, still a few dancers such as Balasaraswati, Bhanumati, Viralakshmi and others who have helped to keep up this traditional style. His late Highness the Gaekwad Sayaji Rao of Baroda brought to his state Gaurabai, one of the best Tanjore dancers of her time. She was the Baroda court dancer for over fifty years; even now though she is over seventy, her movements are incredibly precise and exquisite and her facial expressions interpret all the poetic emotions of the song and dance. While teaching me, she was always particular that I should practise each movement minutely so as to be able to concentrate entirely on expression, once the steps were thoroughly mastered. It is my earnest hope that this essay will help those who wish to learn the elements of Bhārata Nāṭyam.

The technique consists of a number of ādaus, or phrases of co-ordinating hand and foot movements, done to the accompaniment of various rhythmic syllables, known as bols in the dance language. When these ādaus are mastered by the pupil, they are knit together into

different forms of dances according to the melody and timing of classical South Indian music, or to describe the words of Sanskrit and Telugu songs.

Before studying the ādaus, it is necessary to be well acquainted with a few technical terms as described in the Sanskrit text of Bharata Muni.

These are :

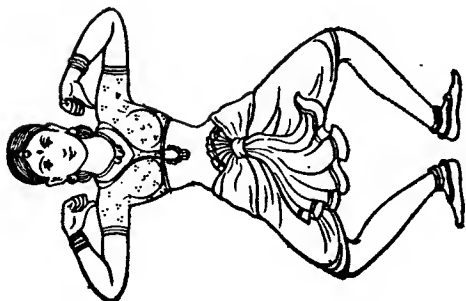
Abhimukha	the position of the hand when the palm is opposite the face.
Adhomukha	the position of the hand with the palm facing downwards.
Agratāla	the position of the foot, balanced on the ball with the heel raised.
Alapadma	a hand pose, with the fingers opened out.
Añcita	the position of the foot when only the heel touches the ground.
Aṅgaparyāya	the repetition of movements with the opposite hand and foot.
Ardhacandra	a certain hand pose depicting the half moon.
Ardhapatākā	a hand pose, like Tripatākā, but the fourth finger is also bent.
Bol	a dance syllable uttered to accompany each movement.
Haṃsavaktra	a certain hand pose which represents a swan's head.
Muṣṭi	a hand pose like a fist.
Niṣaṇṇoru	the position of the thighs when they are lowered.
Patākā	a hand pose resembling a flag.
Parāṇmukha	the position of the hand when it faces the audience.
Sama	the feet or thighs in their natural position.
Śikhara	a hand pose resembling a crest.
Svastika	the position of the hands or arms when crossed.
Tiryāṇmukha	the position of the hand when it is at a slant.
Tripatākā	a certain hand pose.
Tryaśra	the foot when it is slightly turned out to its side.
Uttāna	the hand when the palm faces upwards.

While practising the ādaus, the student must pay attention to certain rules which are common to most of the exercises; these are 'sauṣṭavāṅga' (the body kept firm in perfect symmetry), tryaśra feet (the toes pointing slightly to their side), graceful hand and arm movements, precision and smoothness in rhythmic co-ordination of hand and foot movements, eyes fixed on the hand in action, and above all a happy facial expression. Each step should be placed firmly, almost in a stamping manner; when the foot is raised and lowered in the same spot, the distance between the feet should not exceed three inches, but if moved forward or sideways the dancer steps according to her build. All the bols must be uttered while practising the ādaus, but not while performing an item. One of the musicians of the orchestra beats the time with a small stick and sings the bols or words of the song.

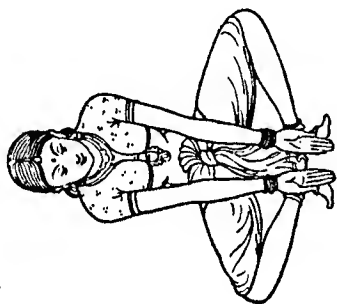
Bhārata Nāṭyaṃ is essentially a woman's dance, and on no account should a man perform it. The dance is for beautiful young girls, with slender waists and large expressive eyes.

## GURU VANDANAM

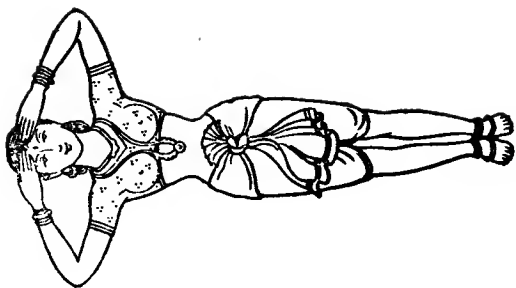
At the beginning and end of the dance, the dancer does the Guru Vandanam (salutation to the teacher). Placing her hands in adhomukha sikhara on the shoulders, she stamps her feet alternately. Then, lowering her body to a sitting posture, she brings down her arms in a large circular movement to touch the ground ; lastly she rises and touches her temples.



G. V. 1.



G. V. 2.



G. V. 3.

## PRELIMINARY EXERCISES

To gain elasticity, the student should sit down with the left foot agratāla (the left knee touching the ground), stretching out the right to its side (the right foot añcita). Placing the right ardhacandra hand on the waist, she should bring the left arm in an upward circular movement to touch the right foot.

Āṅaparyāya (i. e. the same movement must be repeated stretching out the left leg, and bringing the right arm over).

To strengthen the thighs, the pupil may practise standing and sitting alternately with her feet in agratāla, about a hundred times daily before dancing.

To gain lightness of foot, frog-jumping on agratāla feet may be done also a hundred times.

### EXERCISE I \*

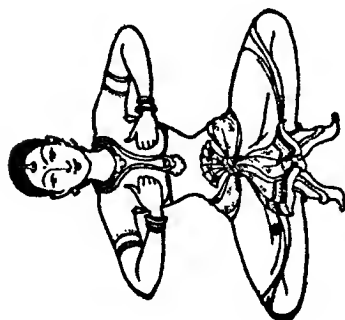
Placing both hands in śikhara near the breasts, jump in the sitting posture ; then send the right arm to the left in a swing movement, and at the same time stretch back the right leg, turning the body to the left ; lastly, make three firm steps (right, left, right) in a circle to take up the final pose, which is, tryāśra feet, niṣaṇṇoru, and śikhara hands near the breasts.

Āṅaparyāya.

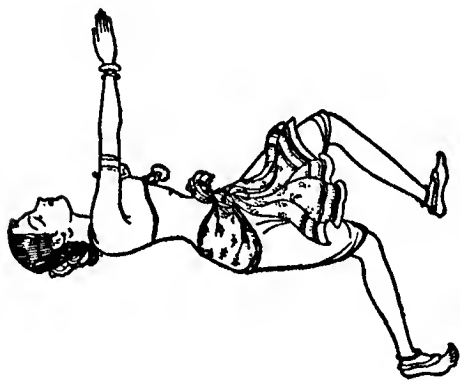
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\* The numbers below the single figures refer as a rule to the āḍau or exercise where that particular figure occurs for the first time. The number of the āḍau is given in Roman numerals (I, II, etc.), the number of the exercise is abbreviated as Ex. I, etc.

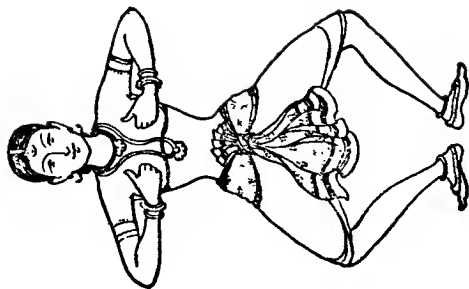
# Exercise I



Ex. I. 1.



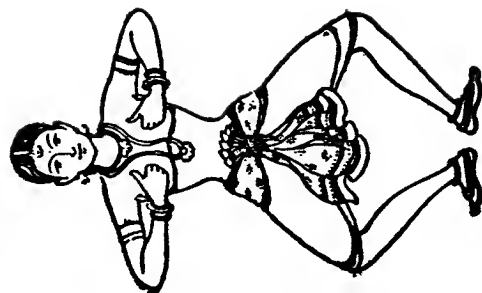
Ex. I. 2.



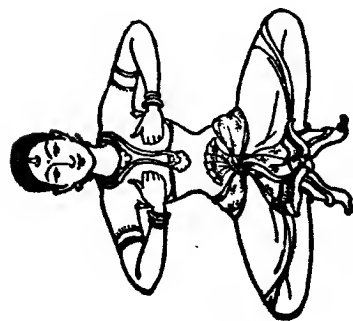
Ex. I. 3.  
XII. 1.



Ex. I. 4.



Ex. I. 5.  
XII. 1.



Ex. I. 6.

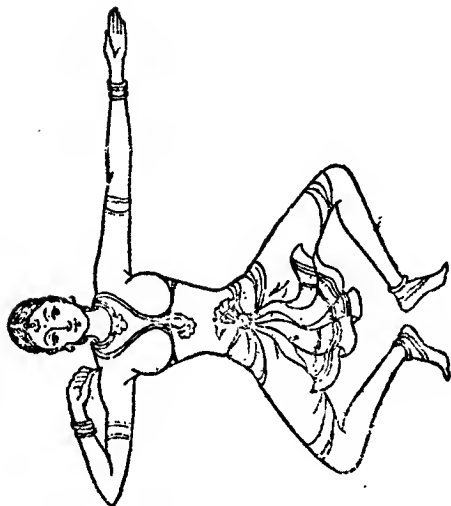
## EXERCISE II

1. With the right hand, *adhomukha śikhara*, on the shoulder, the left stretched out, jump, and then step with the left foot ; Fig. 1.
2. Kick back the right foot ( to touch the right hip ) before lowering it to the ground, and in the same way kick back the left foot, before lowering it ; Fig. 1.
3. Jump in the sitting posture as in Ex. I, and swing the body to the left, exactly as in the previous exercise ; Figs. 1 and 2, Ex. I.
4. Jump again in the sitting posture and swing the body to the right as before ; Figs. 1 and 4, Ex. I.
5. Make a pirouette on the right side before taking up the final pose which is *tryāśra* feet, *niṣaṇṇoru*, and hands linked in *svastika* above the head ; Fig. 2, Ex. II.

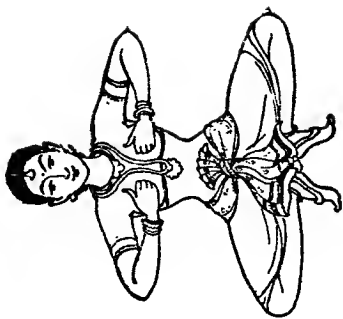
Exercise II



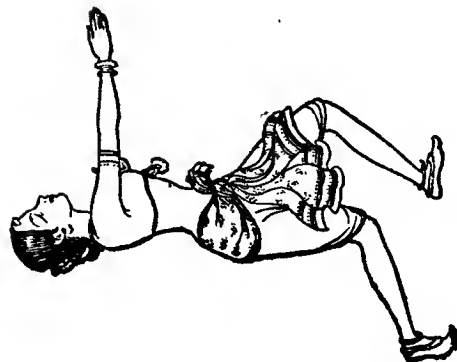
Ex. II. 1.



Ex. II. 1.



Ex. I. 1.



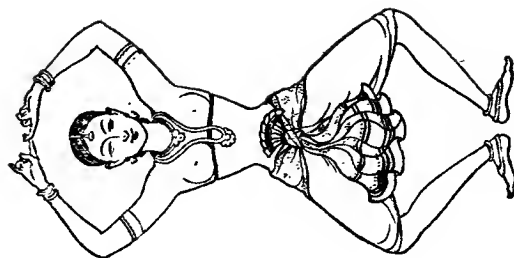
Ex. I. 2.



Ex. I. 1.



Ex. I. 4.



Ex. II. 2.



### EXERCISE III

With the hands on the waist, feet tryāśra, niṣaṇṇoru, do the following exercises :

Raise and lower each foot alternately in the same spot : the body must be kept very firm, and each step is to be done very firmly. This is the most common of all the steps in Bhārata Nāṛyaṇ ādaus.

On beat 1, raise the foot to the bol 'teyā'.

On beat 2, lower the foot to the bol 'te'.

Do the same steps to the bols 'teyā, te' with the left foot.

This exercise may be repeated several times, *adagio*, *moderato* and *presto*.

### EXERCISE IV

Raise and lower each foot twice to the bols 'teyā, te, teyā, te'.

### EXERCISE V

On beat 1, 'teyun' step with the right foot añcita, the right leg extended to its side.

On beat 2, 'dattā' step with the right foot tryāśra in its place; Fig. 1, Ex. III.

On beat 3, 'te' step with the left foot añcita, ( the left leg stretched out to its side ).

On beat 4, 'yā' step with the left foot tryāśra in its place.

Bols : तेयुन दत्ता ते या

## EXERCISE VI

As in Ex. IV repeat the movements of each foot twice.

On 'teyūn', rt ft añcita.  
 On 'dattā', rt ft tryāśra.  
 On 'te', rt ft añcita.  
 On 'yā', rt ft tryāśra.

In the same way step with the left foot.

Bols : तेयुन दत्ता ते या

## EXERCISE VII

On beat 1, 'teyūn' rt ft añcita ( the rt leg stretched out at its side ).  
 On beat 2, 'dattā' rt ft tryāśra ( in its place ).  
 On beat 3, 'te' lt ft añcita.  
 On beat 4, 'yā' lt ft tryāśra.  
 On beat 5, 'teyūn' rt ft kuñcita ( placed behind the lt ft ).  
 On beat 6, 'dattā' lt ft tryāśra ( in its place ).  
 On beat 7, 'te' rt ft añcita ( at its side ).  
 On beat 8, 'yā' rt ft tryāśra ( in its place ).

Angaparyāya.

Bols : तेयुन दत्ता ते या

## EXERCISE VIII

As in Ex. IV and VI repeat the steps with each foot twice to the same bols.

On 'teyūn', rt añcita, on dattā, rt ft tryāśra, on 'te', again rt añcita, on yā, rt ft tryāśra ; on 'teyūn', lt añcita, on dattā, lt tryāśra, on 'te', lt añcita, on 'yā', lt tryāśra and so on.....

## ĀDAU I

Bols : Teyun, dattā, te, yā. तैयुन दत्ता ते या

On teyun

beat 1

Jump and place both feet tryāśra, with niṣaṇṇoru, bending the body gracefully to the right ; at the same time send up the arms in uttāna alapadma ; Fig. 1, Ādau I.\*

On dattā

beat 2

step with the left foot slightly towards the left, and lower the arms in a gradual circular movement, and with them the body, bending down right, watching the right hand ; Fig. 2, Ādau I

On te

beat 3

place the right kuñcita foot behind the left, and the hands continuing the circular movement are near the navel. Watch the hands ; Fig. 3, Ādau I

On yā

beat 4

step with the left foot in its place, and raise the hands in haṃsavaktra near the chest, looking ahead, and keeping the body erect ; Fig. 4, Ādau I.

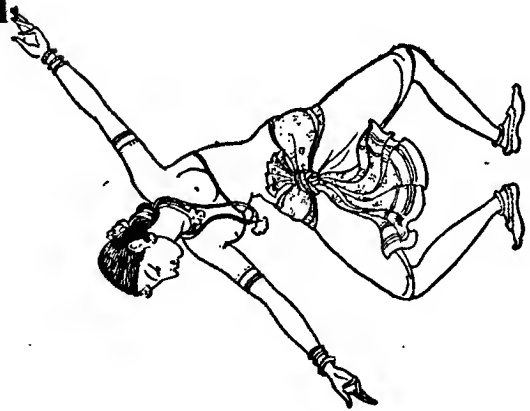
Aṅgaparyāya,

\* The numbers in brackets preceding the Roman numbers give the beats and indicate the sequence of figures of the ādau.

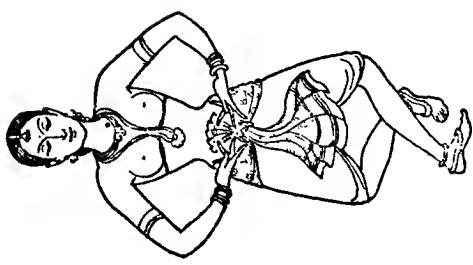
Figures drawn by Rasiklal Parikh and posed by the author.



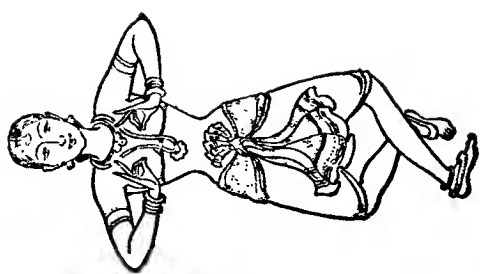
(1) I. 1.  
तेयुन  
teyuni



(3) I. 2.  
दत्ता  
datta



(8) I. 8.  
ते  
te



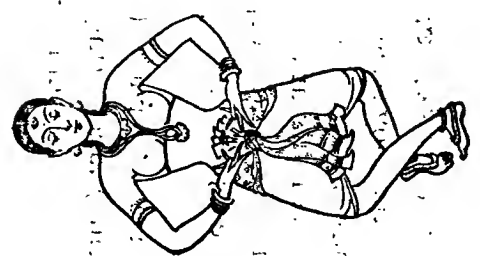
(4) I. 4.  
या  
ya



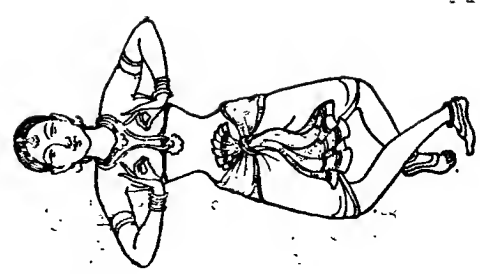
(5) I. 5.  
तेयुन  
teyun



(6) I. 6.  
दत्ता  
datta



(7) I. 7.  
ते  
te



(9) I. 9.  
या  
ya

## ĀDAU II

Bols : teyun dattā, teyā, teyā ā ā. तेयुन दत्ता तेया तेया आ आ  
 On the first four beats (teyun dattā, teyā) do the movements of ādau I.  
 place the right foot añcita firmly in front of the body,  
 and at the same time send out the right uttāna alapadma  
 hand, also in front, watching it, and keep the left  
 hamsavaktra hand near the chest ; Fig. 1. ( body faces  
 audience ).

On yā, beat 6  
 step with the left foot tryāśra in its place ( the right  
 foot still being in front, añcita ) and bring the right  
 hand gradually towards the body watching it. ( body  
 faces audience ).

On ā, beat 7  
 step with the right kuñcita foot placed behind the left,  
 and continue bringing the right hand still nearer the body.  
 On ā, beat 8  
 step with the left foot in its place, and now both hands  
 are near the chest in hamsavaktra as in ādau I, Fig. 4.

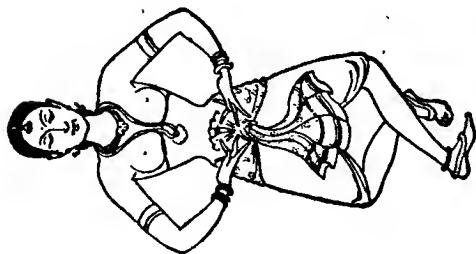
Āṅaparyāya.



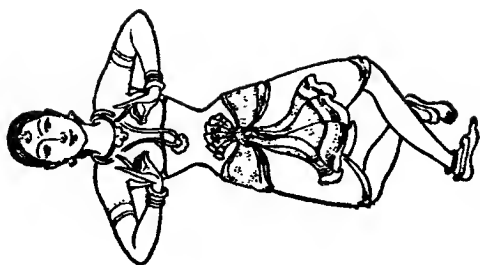
(1) I. 1.  
teyūn



(2) I. 2.  
dattā



(3) I. 3.  
te



(4) I. 4.  
yā



(5) II. 1.  
te

(Body faces audience)



(6) yā

(7) ā ā

(8) I. 4.  
ā

## ĀDAU III

Bols : teyun dattā, te yā. तैयुन दत्ता ते या

As in ādau II, first do ādau I on the right side to the bols : teyun

dattā, te yā.

On teyun

beat 5

step with the right añcita foot ( the right leg stretched to its side ), and lower the right alapadma hand to near the foot, raising the left uttāna alapadma hand up left, watching the right hand as in Fig. 1.

On dattā

beat 6

On te

beat 7

step with the left foot in its place, the body and hands being in the same position as on teyun.

step with the right kuñcita foot, turning the body to the left, and changing the position of the hands gracefully, so that the right is out at its side, in hamsavaktra, and the left uttāna hamsavaktra above the head;

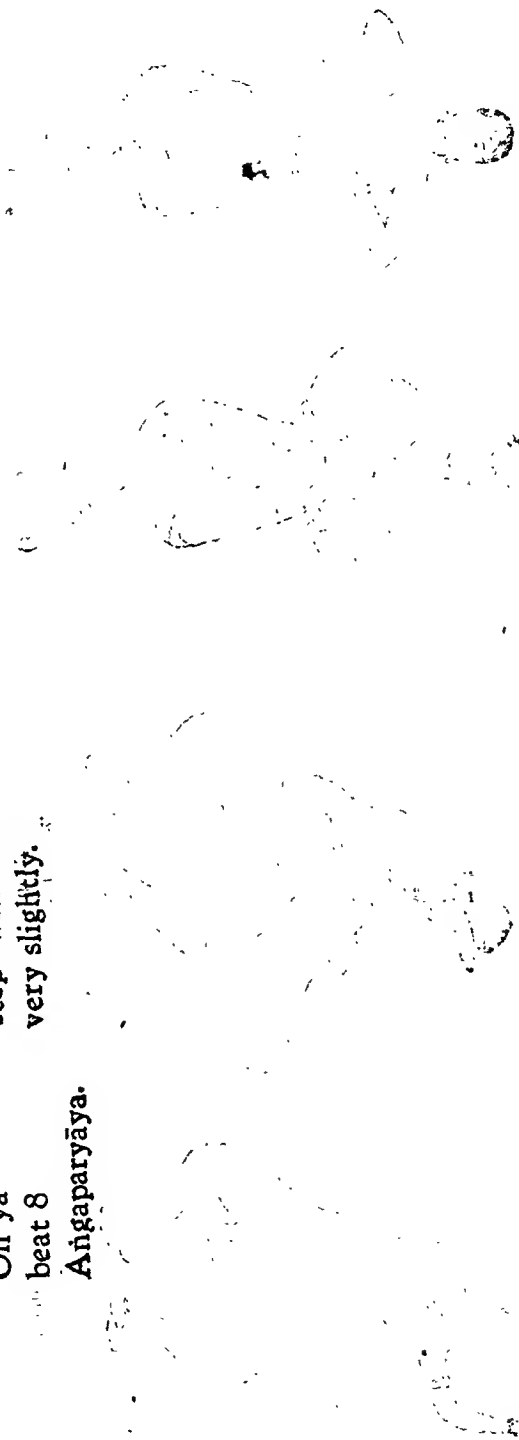
Fig. 2.

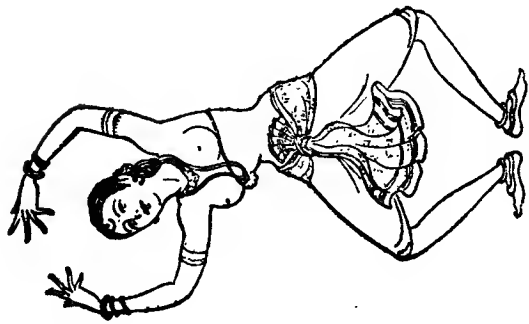
step with the left foot in this position, and raise the head very slightly.

On yā

beat 8

Āṅgaparyāya.

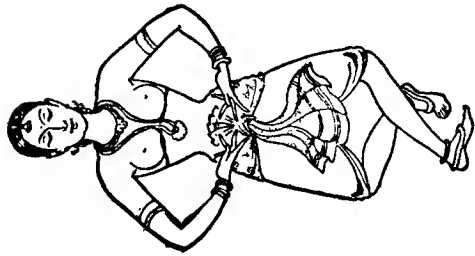




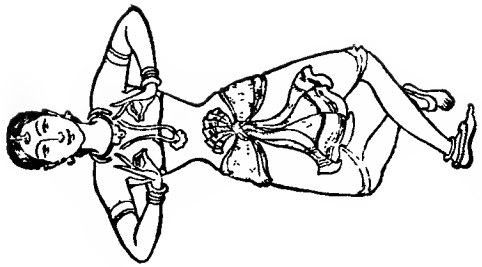
(1) I. 1.  
teyun



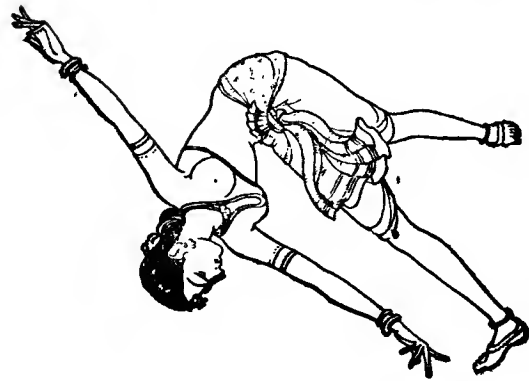
(2) I. 2.  
dattā



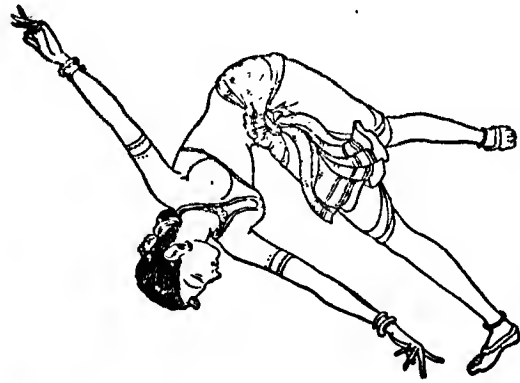
(3) I. 3.  
te



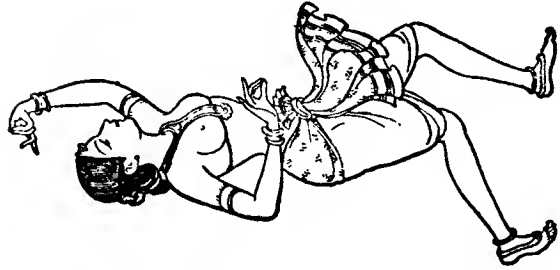
(4) I. 4.  
yā



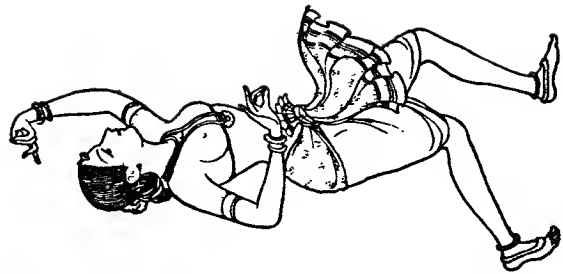
(5) III. 1.  
teyun



(6) III. 1.  
dattā



(7) III. 2.  
te



(8) III. 2.  
yā



Bols : teyun dattā, te yā. तेयुन् दत्ता ते या

First do ādau I on the right side, to the bols : teyun dattā, te yā ( Figs. 1-4 ).

On teyun

5

step with the right añcita foot in front of the body and lower the uttāna alapadma hands to near the foot. (body faces audience all through this ādau) ; Fig. 1.

step with the left foot in this position as in Fig. 1.

On dattā

6

step with the right kuñcita foot ( behind the left ), bring up the hands gradually.

On te

7

step with the left foot in this position, place the hamsa-vakra hands near the chest ( Fig. 4, ādau I ).

On yā

8

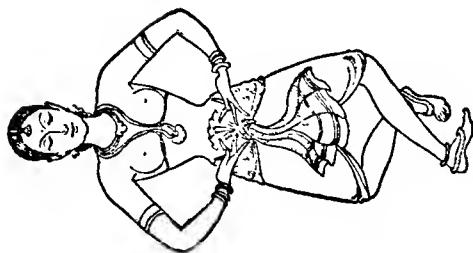
Āṅgaparyāya.



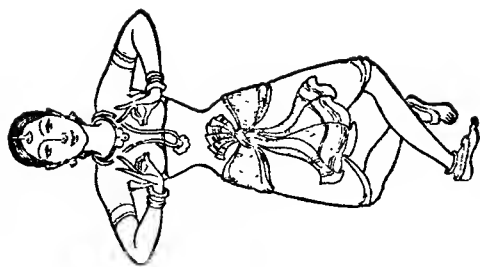
(1) I. 1.  
teyun



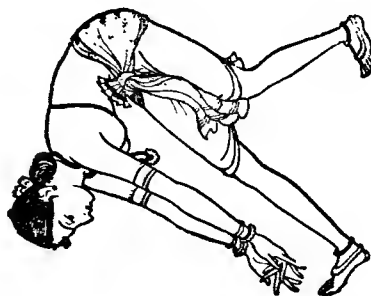
(2) I. 2.  
dattā



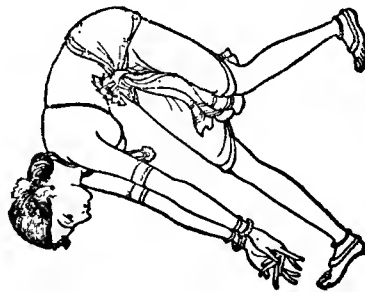
(3) I. 3.  
te



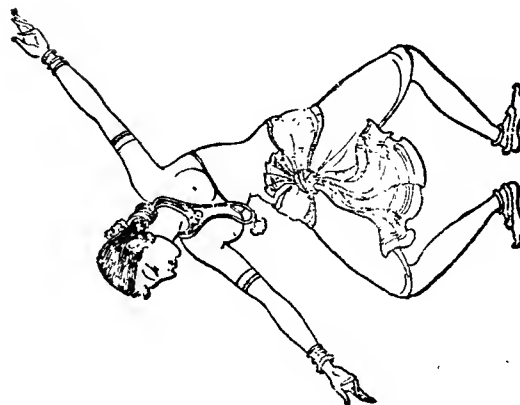
(4) I. 4.  
yā



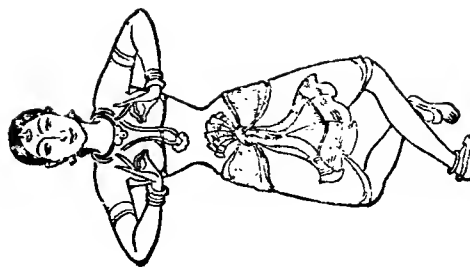
(5) IV. 1.  
teyun  
(Body faces audience)



(6) IV. 1.  
dattā  
(Body faces audience)



(7) I. 2.  
te

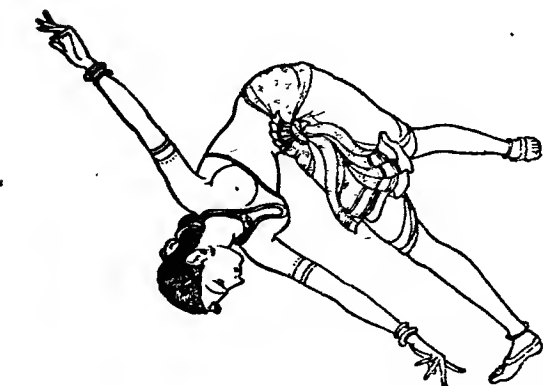


(8) I. 4.  
yā

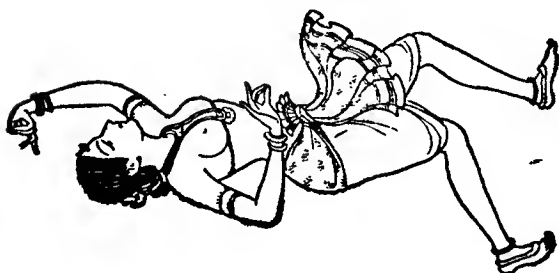
## ĀDAU V

Bols : teyun dattā, teyā. तेयुन् दत्ता तेया

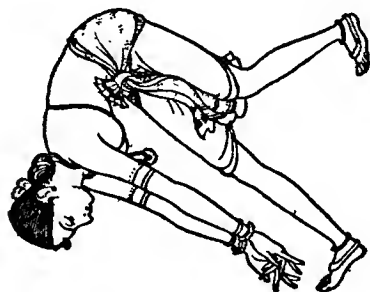
This ādau consists of movements from ādau III and has its ānga-  
pariyāya.



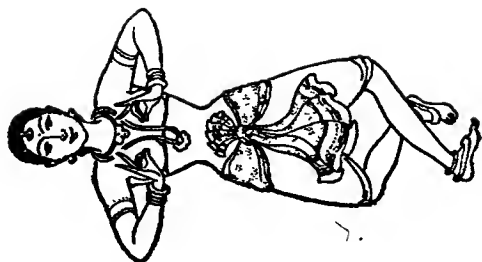
(1) III. 1.  
तेयुन दत्ता  
teyun dattā



(2) III. 2.  
तेया  
teyā



(3) IV. 1.  
तेयुन दत्ता  
teyun dattā  
(Body faces audience)



(4) I. 4.  
या  
yā

ते to

## ĀDAU VI. CANDRAMĀ

Bols : teyun dattā te yā.

In this ādau the dancer traces the digit of the moon while doing a group of steps in four directions.

On teyun jump as in ādau I. Fig. 1, sending up the hands alapaḍma ;

Fig. 1, ādau VI.

On dattā step with the left foot towards the left, lowering the arms slightly, and bending the elbow ; Fig. 2.

On te step with the right foot kuñcita placed behind the left, throwing out the arms and stretching the elbows ; Fig. 3.

On yā step with the left foot further towards the left, bring in the arms, lowering them still more ; Fig. 4.

On teyun step again with right kuñcita foot placed behind the left, and stretch the arms ; Fig. 5.

On dattā step again further left with left foot, bringing in the arms as in Fig. 6.

On te step with right kuñcita foot, lowering the arms to the level of the thighs ; Fig. 7.

On yā step with the left foot in its place, bringing the hands to near the chest in hamsavaktra as in Fig. 4, ādau I.

Āṅgaparyāya.

While moving towards the left, the left foot is tryaśra and the right kuñcita all the time, body bent on the left side and moving towards the right, the right foot is tryaśra, and the left kuñcita, body bent on the right side. In both directions the hands are alternately uttāna and abhimukha.

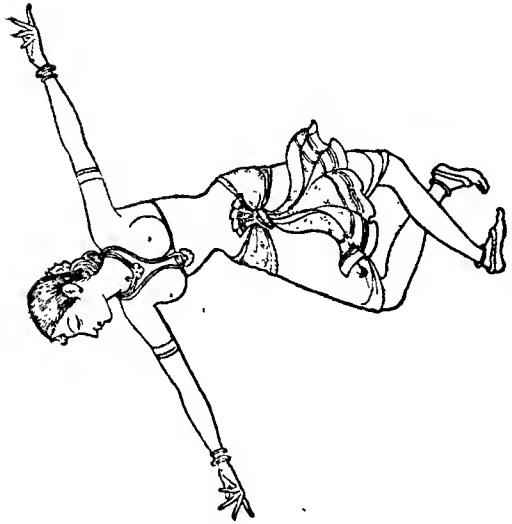
First move towards the left in a straight line, then in a large semicircle forward right, next in a smaller semicircle towards the left and lastly back to the spot where the ādau was commenced. In Tillānā one of the Bhārata Nāṭyaṃ items, when this ādau is done at a fast tempo, the hands are alternately alapaḍma and hamsavaktra.



(1) VI. 1.  
teyun



(2) VI. 2.  
dattā



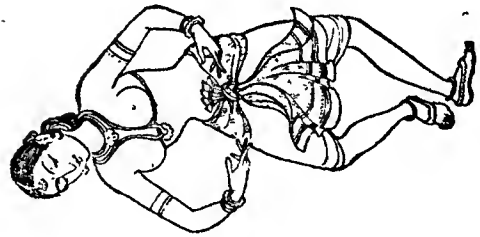
(3) VI. 3.  
te



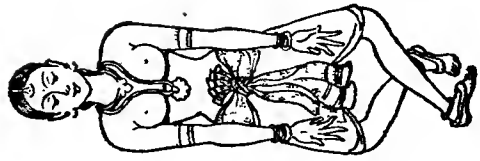
(4) VI. 4.  
yā



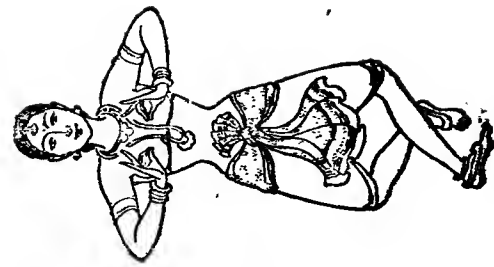
(5) VI. 5.  
teyun



(6) VI. 6.  
dattā



(7) VI. 7.  
te



(8) I. 4.  
yā

## ĀDAU VII

Bols : tai, taidattā. **तै तैदत्ता**

In this ādau, the feet are placed very lightly to the bols tai, taidattā, and all the steps are done with the feet kuñcita. The last two bols are shorter than the first.

On tai jump lightly, stepping with the right foot kuñcita towards the right, and gracefully throwing out the right uttāna alapadma hand, keeping the left near the chest in haṃsavaktra.

On tai place the left kuñcita foot behind the right as in Fig. 1.  
On dattā step lightly with the right foot in this position.

Āṅgaparyāya of these movements to the bols tai, taidattā ; Fig. 2.  
On tai jump forward on the right kuñcita foot, throwing out the right alapadma hand, keeping the left uttāna haṃsavaktra hand over the head ( body faces audience all through this ādau ).

On tai place the left kuñcita foot behind the right as in Fig. 3.  
On dattā step lightly with the right foot in this position.  
On tai jump back lightly with the left foot tryāśra, bringing

back the right hand gradually to the chest region so that it is in haṃsavaktra near the chest, and at the same time step lightly with the right foot kuñcita behind the left foot as in Fig. 4.

On dattā step in this position with the left foot.  
Āṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau.



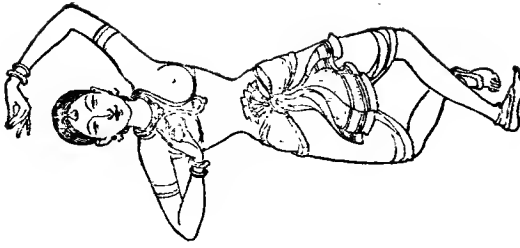
(1) VII. 1.  
तैदसा  
तल दत्ता



(2) VII. 2.  
तैदसा



(3) VII. 3.  
तैदसा  
(Body faces audience)



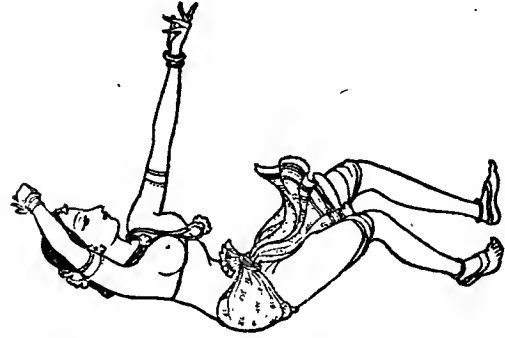
(4) VII. 4.  
तैदसा



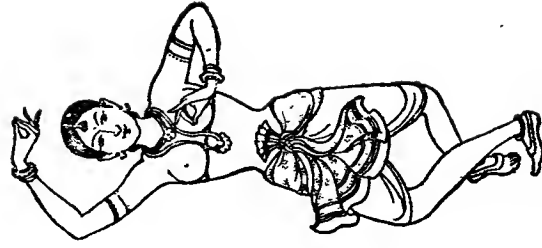
(5) VII. 2.  
तैदसा



(6) VII. 1.  
तैदसा



(7) VII. 5.  
तैदसा  
(Body faces audience)



(8) VII. 6.  
तैदसा



## ĀDAU VIII

Ādau VIII is similar to ādau VII, but only Figs. 1 and 2 are done, first to the sides, then jumping forward with the right foot, and the body turned to the side so that the right side faces the audience, then backwards with the left foot in this position. In the āṅgaparyāya after doing the first two figures of ādau VII turn the body so that the left side faces the audience and jump forward with the left foot, then backwards with the right.

## ĀDAU IX

Bols : tai, taidattā. तै तैदत्ता

After doing the first two figures of ādau VII to the bols tai, taidattā tai, taidattā,

On tai

jump forward lightly ( with the right side facing the audience ) throwing up the arms gracefully over the head.

On taidattā

assume the sitting posture, the body still turned to the left, with the right hand holding the index finger of the left over the head as in Fig. 1.

On tai, taidattā, jump back to the centre, so that the final position is niṣaṅṅoru, tryāśra feet, body erect facing the audience, and hands in alapaḍma near the chest as in Fig. 2.

Āṅgaparyāya, commencing with ādau VII on the left side.

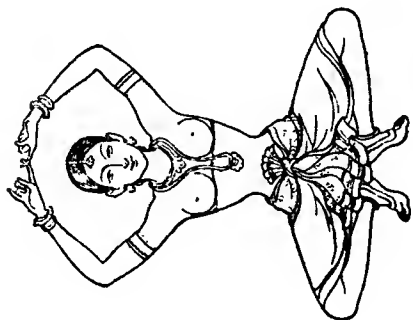
# Ādau IX



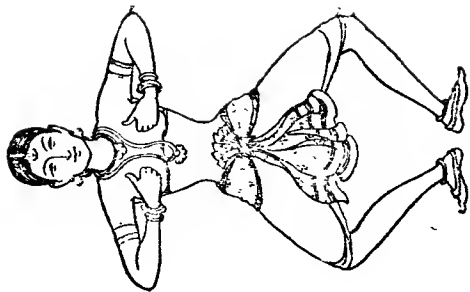
(1) VII.1.  
ते तेवसा  
tai tai dattā



(2) VII. 2.  
ते तेवसा  
(Body turned to the  
side so that the right  
waist faces audience)

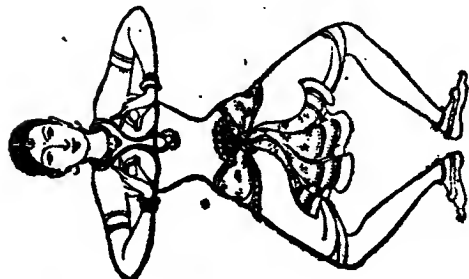


(3) IX. 1.  
ते तेवसा



(4) IX. 2.  
ते तेवसा

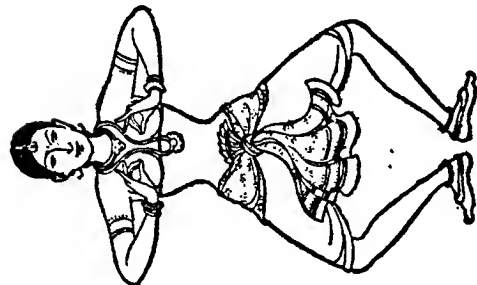




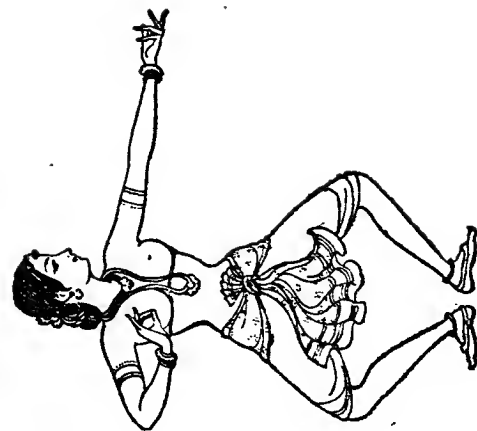
(1) X. 1.  
tal



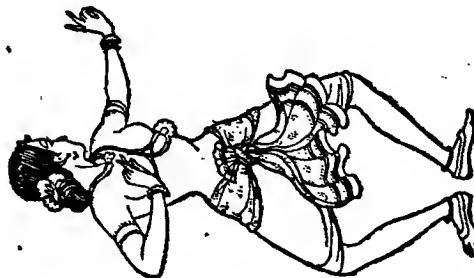
(2) X. 2.  
tal dattā



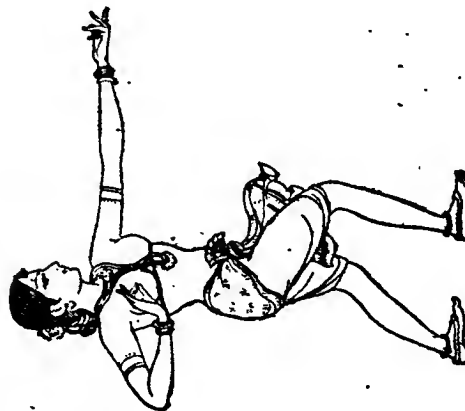
(3) X. 1.  
tal



(4) X. 3.  
tal dattā

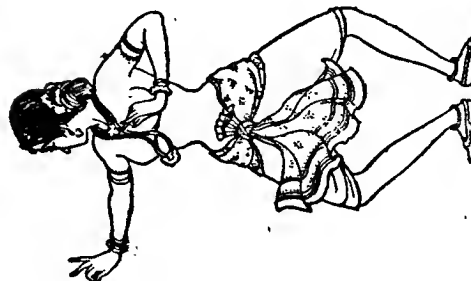


(5) X. 4.  
tal

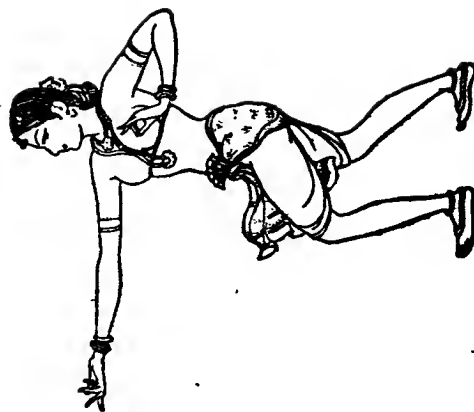


(6) X. 5.  
tal dattā

(Body faces audience)



(7) X. 6.  
tal



(8) X. 7.  
tal dattā

(Body faces audience)

## ĀDAU XI

Bols : tai, taidattā.

On tai           step firmly with the right foot triyaśra slightly towards the right, keeping the arms at a slant, the right parāṇmukha tripatākā up right, the left adhomukha tripatākā down left.

On taidattā   the left foot is gradually changed to añcita, and both hands at the same time change to uttāna ardhapatākā ; look at the left hand ; Fig. 1. (The left foot begins changing to añcita as soon as the right foot steps on the first tai ).

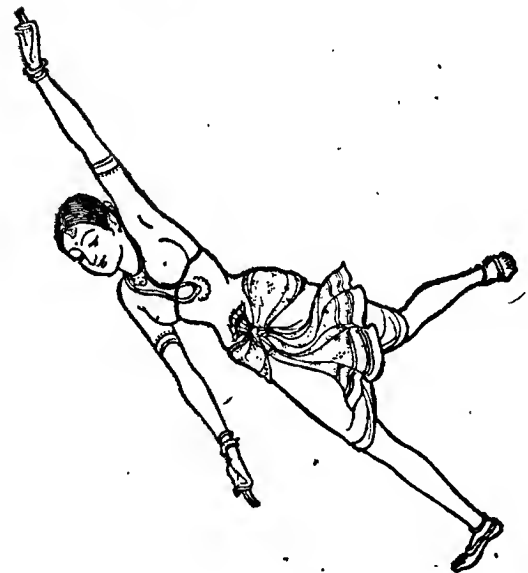
Do aṅgaparyāya of these movements to the bols tai, taidattā ; Fig. 2.

Then on tai   kicking back the right foot to the hip, drop it forward lightly, and at the same time, bring the left tripatākā hand from behind the body out in front of the body keeping the right in tripatākā near the chest ; Fig. 3.

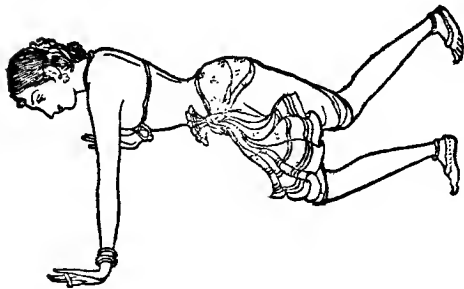
Do aṅgaparyāya of these movements to the bols tai, taidattā ; Fig. 4.  
Aṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau.



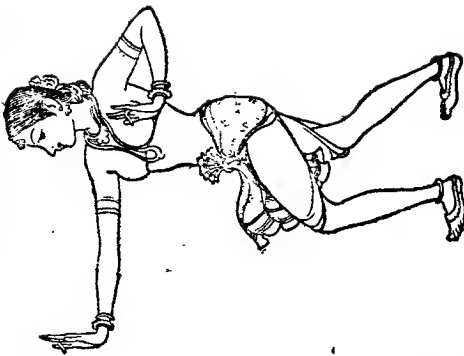
(1) XI. 1.  
taidattā



(2) XI. 2.  
taidattā



(3) XI. 3.  
taidattā  
(Body faces audience)



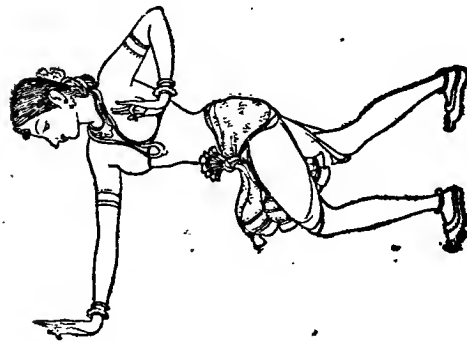
(4) XI. 4.  
taidattā  
(Body faces audience)



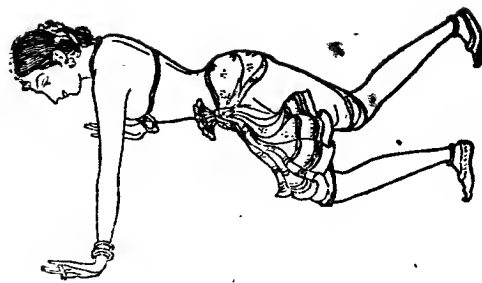
(5) XI. 2.  
taidattā



(6) XI. 1.  
taidattā



(7) XI. 4.  
taidattā  
(Body faces audience)



(8) XI. 8.  
taidattā  
(Body faces audience)

## ĀDAU XII

Bols : tat te dhā, dhīt te dhā. तत् ते धा । धि॒त् ते धा

At the beginning of this ādau, both hands are in śikhara near the chest, the feet tryaśra, and the body erect.

On tat step firmly with the right foot in its place as in Fig. 1.

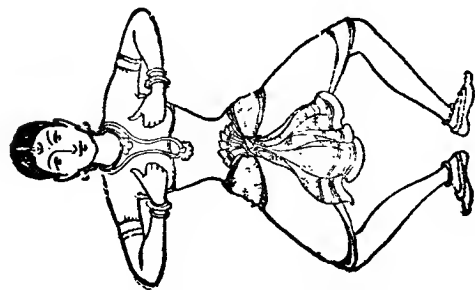
On te step firmly with the left foot ; Fig. 1.

On dhā step with the right añcita foot, sending out both arms in a semi-circle, the elbows slightly bent ; the left hand is adhomukha patakā, and the right tiryānmukha patakā.

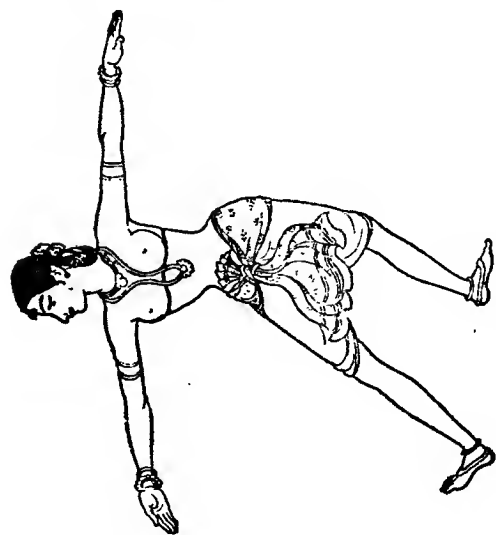
Watch the right hand ; Fig. 2.

On dhīt step with the right foot tryaśra, and change the position of the right hand to adhomukha ; look ahead, and raise the eyebrows slightly.

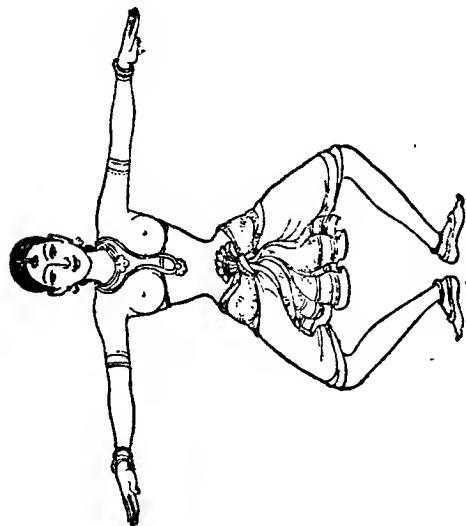
On te no movement ( usually no movement is done on this 'te' when done at a slow tempo ).



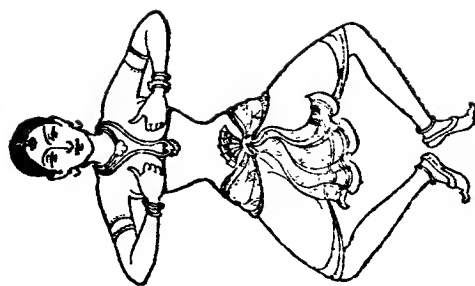
(1) XII.1.  
tat' (te)



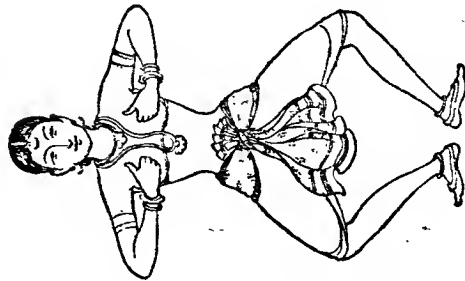
(2) XII.2.  
dhā



(3) XII.3.  
dhīt (te)



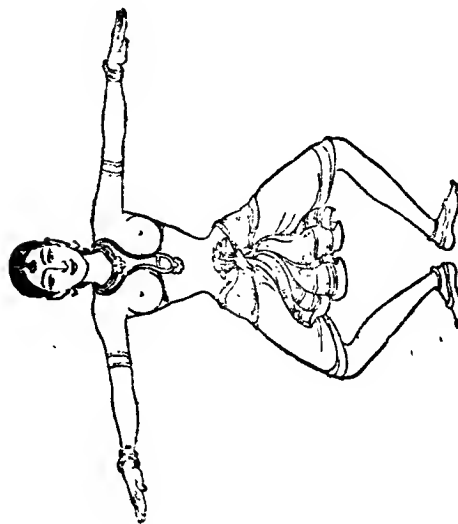
(4) XII.4.  
dhā



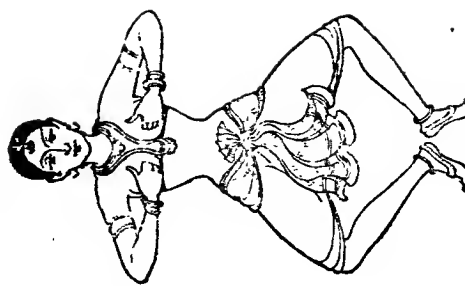
(5) XII.1.  
tat' (te)



(6) XII.5.  
dhā



(7) XII.3.  
dhīt (te)



(8) XII.4.  
dhā



### ĀDAU XIII

The movements of this ādau are similar to ādau XII, but the movements are repeated [ XII ( 1-4 ) ; and similarly XII ( 5-8 ) ].

### ĀDAU XIV

Bols : tat te dhā/dhit te dhā.

Do 'tat te dhā, dhit te dhā' as in ādau XII without the jump on the final dhā. Instead of the jump turn the body to the left ( till the back is to the audience ), the hands falling loosely at their sides.

Then on tat te dhā after kicking the right hip, assume the sitting posture, the arms in svastika, hands abhimukha tripatakā, as in Fig. 1.

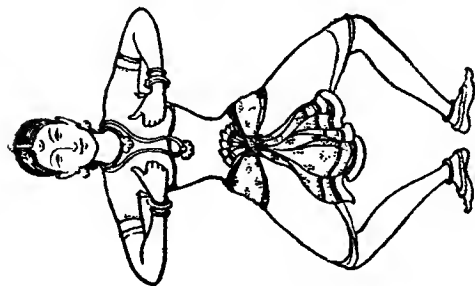
On dhit rise slightly, simultaneously turning the body to face the audience, and immediately again assume the sitting posture, the arms in a semi-circle, hands adhomukha patākā as in Fig. 2.

On te no movement.

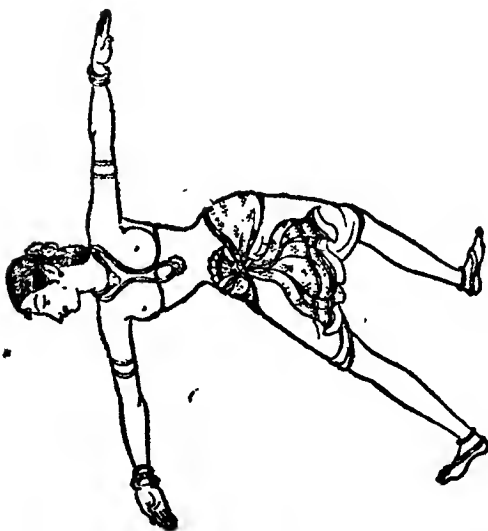
On dhā rise to take up the final pose, which is niṣaṇṇoru, tryāśra feet, and arms in a semi-circle as in Fig. 3, ādau XII.

Āṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau.

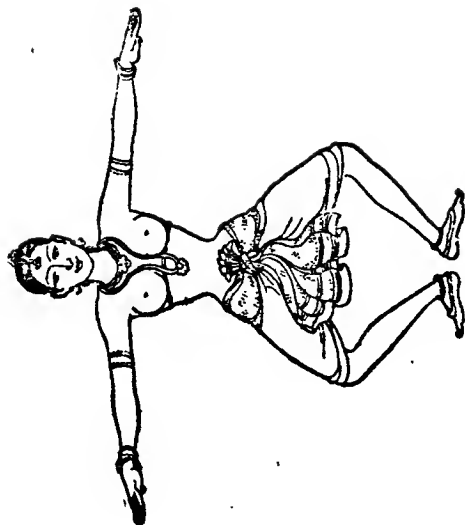
# Adau XIV



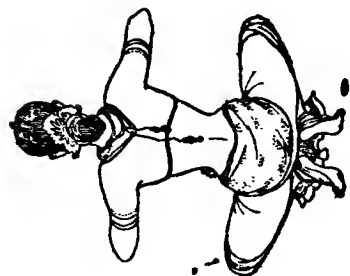
(1) XII.1.  
tat te



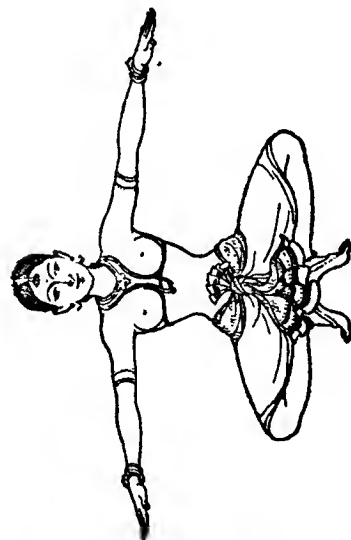
(2) XII.2.  
dhā



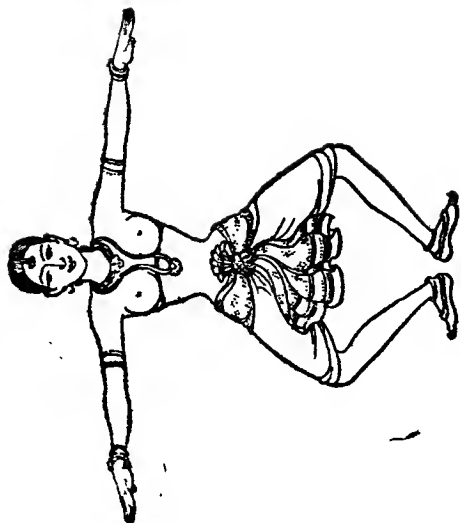
(3) XII.3.  
dhit te dhā



(4) XIV.1.  
tat te dhā



(5) XIV.2.  
dhit te



(6) XII.3.  
dhā

## ĀDAU XV

This ādau is exactly like ādau XIV, but the movements [ XIV ( 1-3 ) : XIV ( 4-6 ) ] are repeated. \*

## ĀDAU XVI

Bols : tat te dhā/dhit te dhā.

Do ādau XII without the jump on the second dhā. Instead of the jump, keep the feet and legs sama, and the hands hamsavaktra near the chest as in Fig. 1.

On tat                    step with the right foot towards the right, stretching the right hand to its side looking at it ; Fig. 2.

On te                    no movement.

On dhā                the left foot crosses over the right, and the left uttāna hand is stretched out, the right returning to near the chest ; watch the left hand ; Fig. 3.

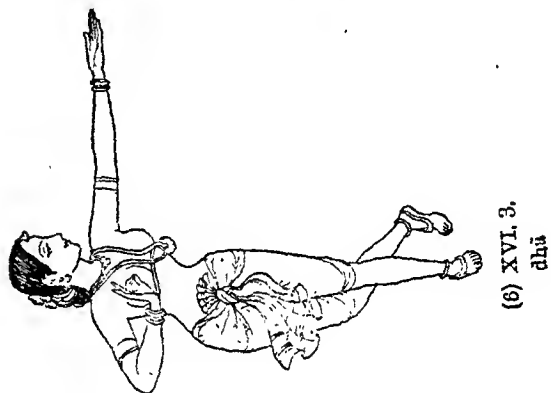
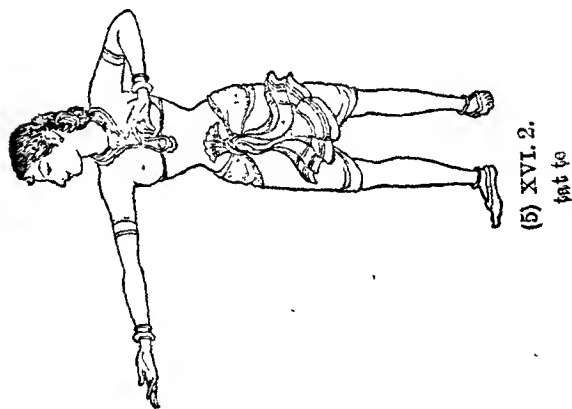
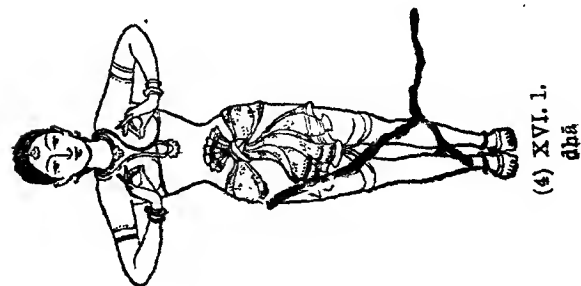
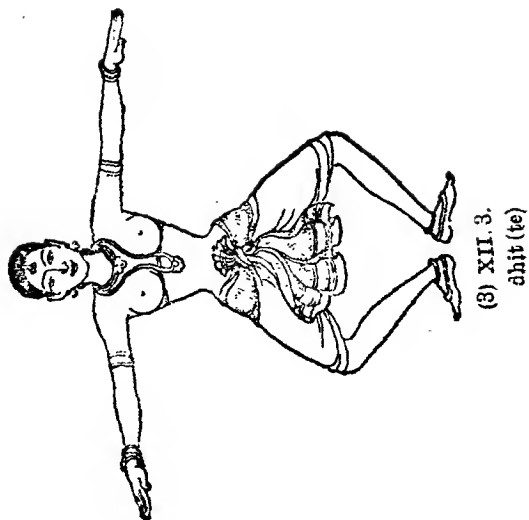
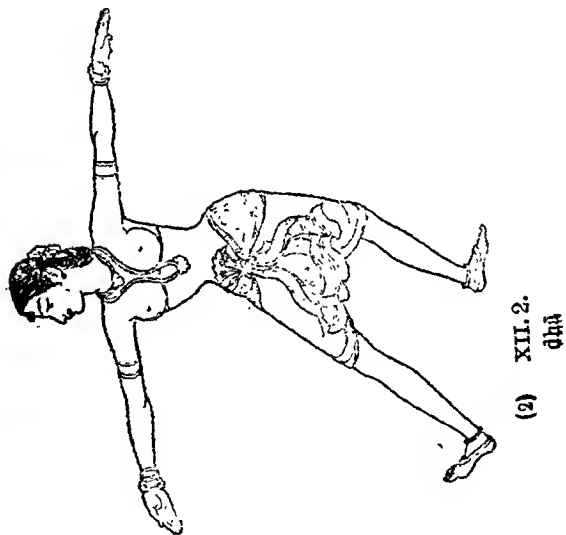
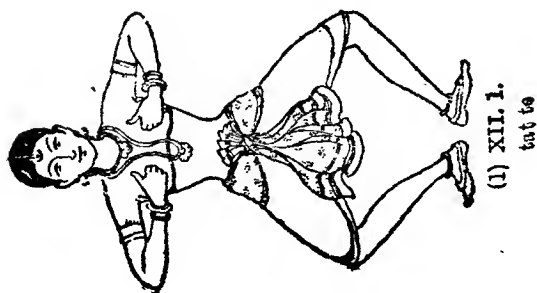
On dhit te dhā       place the left kuñcita foot behind the right, bending the body to the right ; the right alapadma hand is down right, and the left śikhara over the head as in Fig. 4.

                            Aṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau, commencing with ādau XII on the left side.

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\* When Figs. 1-3, etc. of ādau XIV are repeated at a fast tempo, it is not possible to kick the leg back or sit down completely, but the dancer must do the steps in strict rhythm to the bols and observe sauṣṭavāṅga ( i. e. keep the body erect ).

## Adau XVI



## ĀDAU XVII

Bols : tat te dhā/dhit te dhā.

Do ādau XII without the jump on the second dhā ; instead of the jump place the legs and feet in sama, and bring down the arms gracefully in a circle from above the head to their side as in Fig. 1.

On tat ( Fig. 5 ) sit with the back to the audience, hands haṃsavaktra near the chest.

On te

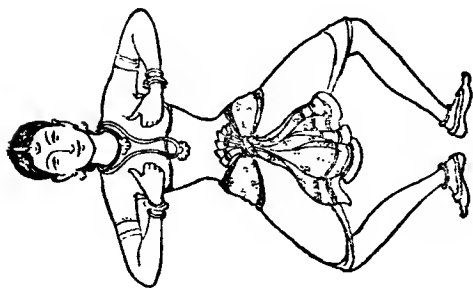
no movement.

On dhā

rise, swing the left leg behind the right, watching the right alapaḍma hand near the left foot, and keeping the left hand up as in Fig. 2.

On dhit te dhā, make a pirouette on the left side, before taking up the final pose, which is niṣaṇṇoru, body facing audience and hands linked in svastika above the head ; Fig. 2, Ex. II.

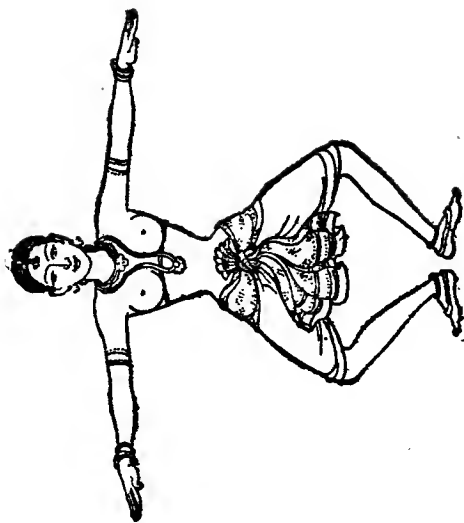
Āṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau, starting with ādau XII with the left foot.



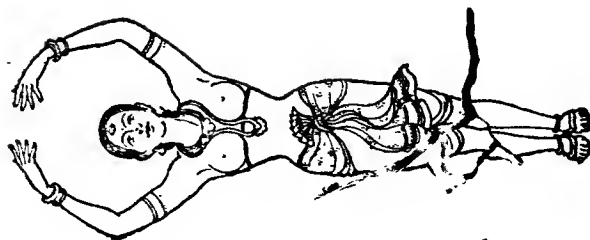
(1) XII. 1.  
tat (te)



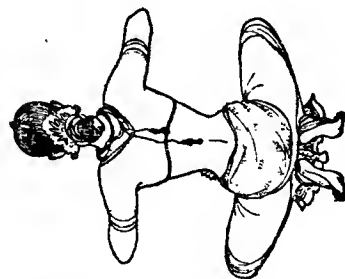
(2) XII. 2.  
dhā



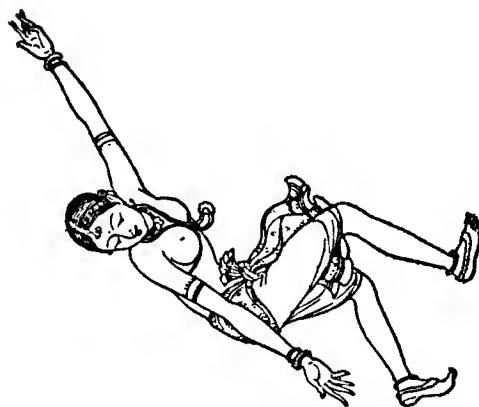
(3) XII. 3.  
dhit (te)



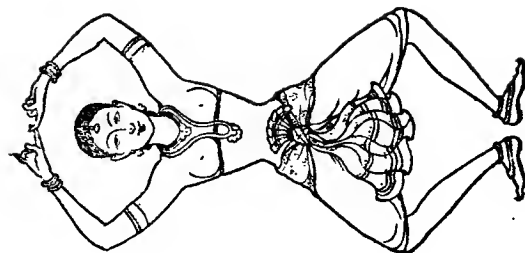
(4) XVII. 1.  
dhā



(5) XIV. 1.  
tat (te)



(6) XVII. 2.  
dhā



(7) Ex. II. 2.  
dhit te dhā

## ĀDAU XVIII

Bols : tat te dhā/dhit te dhā, tat te dhā/ te te tā.

On tat      Jump with both feet agratāla, the right uttāna tripatākā hand near the chest, and the left uttāna tripatākā over the head as in Fig. 1.

On te      no movement.

On dhā      step with the left foot in its place, and send out the right hand to its side ; Fig. 2.

On dhīt      Jump again as in Fig. 1.

On te      no movement.

On dhā      step with the right foot, and send out the right arm ; Fig. 2.

On tat      Jump and send out the right arm as in Fig. 3.

On te      no movement.

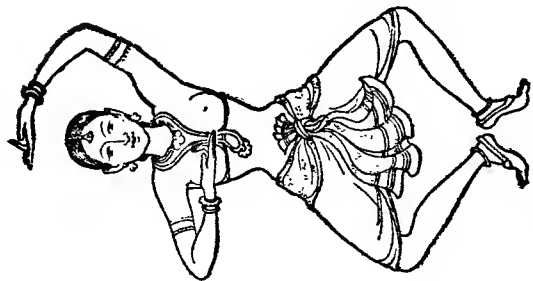
On dhā      step with the left foot and bring the right hand to near the chest ; Fig. 4.

On te      step with the right foot slightly towards the right, and thrust the right parāimukha hand slightly towards the right ; Fig. 5.

On te      step with the left foot, bringing it up to the right, bringing back the right hand to near the chest as in Fig. 6.

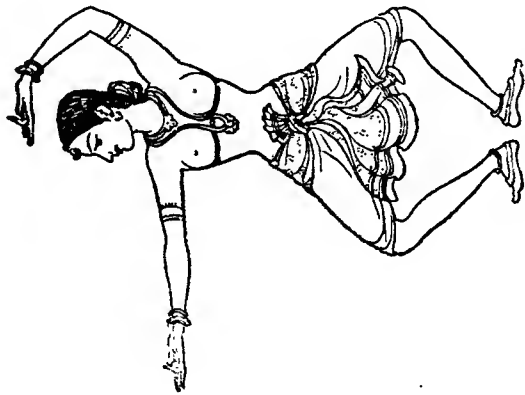
On the final te      step with the right foot further right, thrusting the right hand again as in Fig. 5.

Āṅaparyāya of the whole āda.



(1) XVIII. 1.

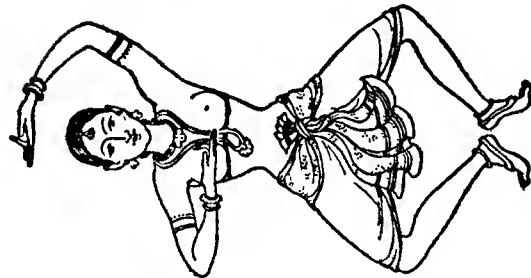
tat



(2) XVIII 2.

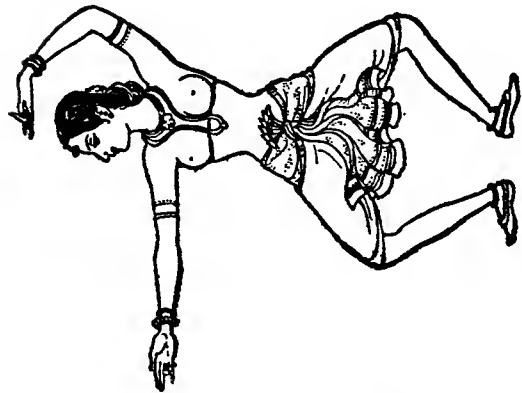
dhā

(to)



(3) XVIII. 1.

dhit (te)



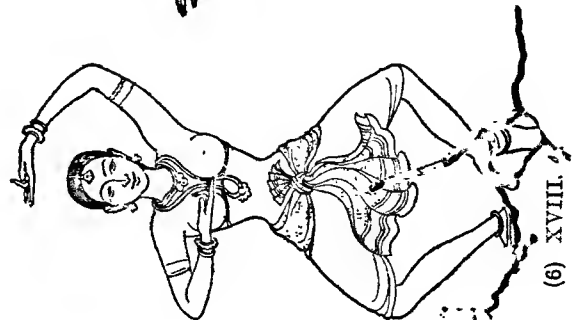
(4) XVIII. 2.

dhā



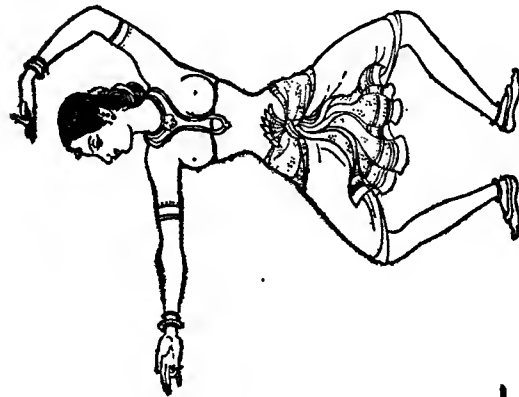
(5) XVIII. 3.

tat (to)



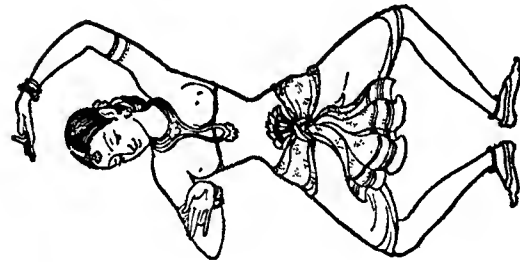
(6) XVIII.

dhā



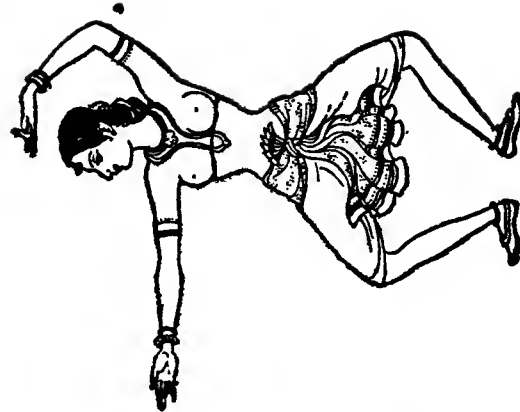
(7) XVIII. 5.

te



(8) XVIII. 6.

te



(9) XVIII. 6.

tñ



## ĀDAU XIX

At the beginning of this ādau, the tripatākā hands face each other, the feet are tryaśra as in Fig. 1, ādau XXI.

Bols : tat te dhā/dhit te dhā.

On tat            step with the right foot, and stretch the right uttāna tripatākā hand to its side, keeping the left adhomukha tripatākā hand near the chest ; Fig. 1.

On te            no movement,

On dhā          āṅgaparyāya ; Fig. 2.

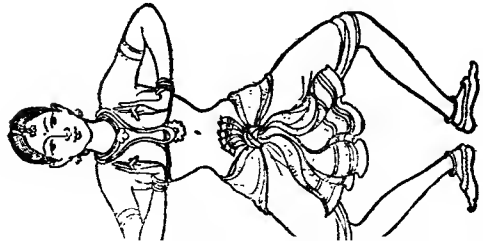
On dhit        jump, and make a very slight downward movement with both hands ; Fig. 3.

On te            no movement.

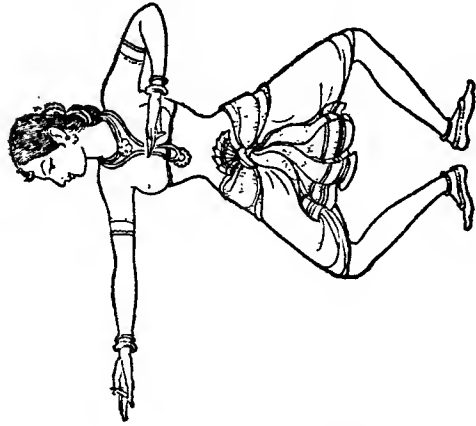
On dhā        step with the right foot, change the position of the hands, the right to uttāna, the left to adhomukha ; Fig. 4.

Āṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau.

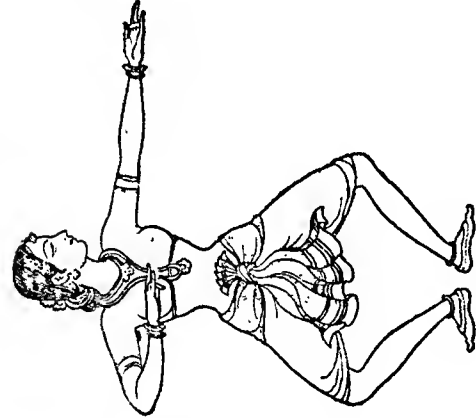
# Ādau XIX



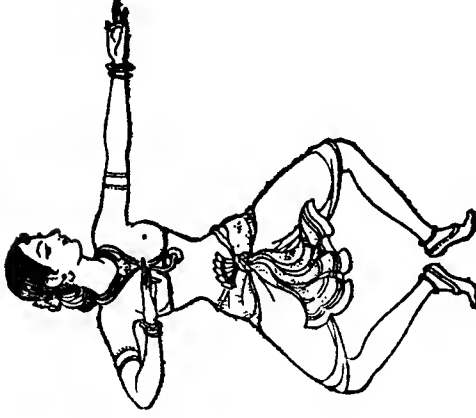
(1) XXI. 1.  
Starting pose



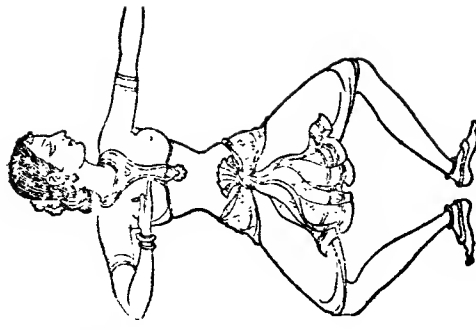
(2) XIX. 1.  
tat



(3) XIX. 2.  
dhā



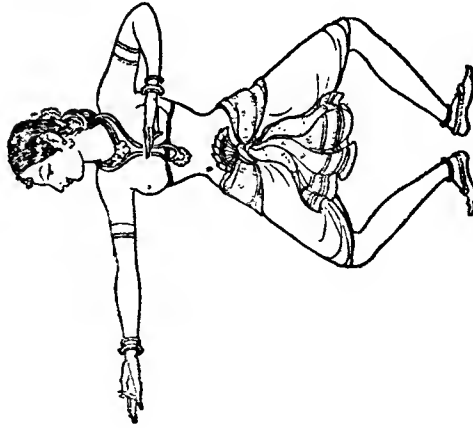
(4) XIX. 3.  
dhāt



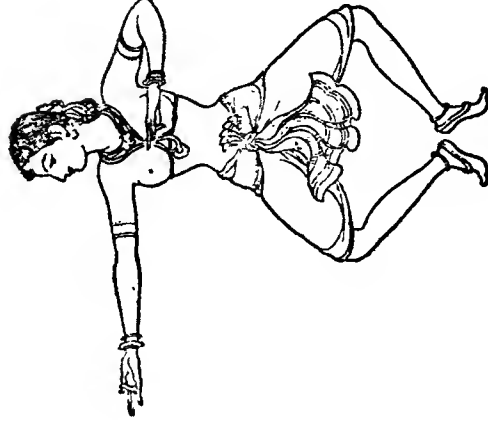
(5) XIX. 4.  
dhā



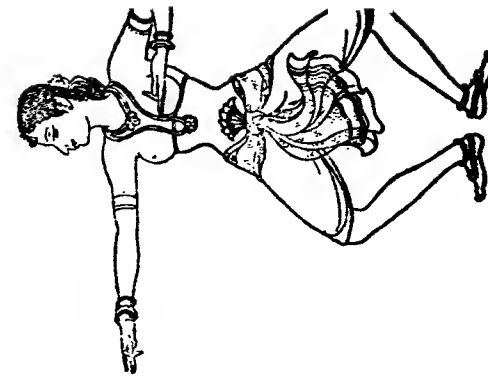
(6) XIX. 2.  
tat



(7) XIX. 1.  
dhā



(8) XIX. 5.  
dhāt



(9) XIX. 6.  
dhā

(to)

(to)

## ĀDAU XX

Bols : tat te dhā/dhīt te dhā.

Do ādau XIX with its āṅaparyāya.

Then on tat

step forward towards the left with the right foot, sending the right uttāna tripatākā hand in front of the body, the left in tripatākā ( fingers pointing up ) near the chest.

On te

no movement.

On dhā

step with the left foot, and at the same time, swing the body round so that the left side faces the audience and the left arm making a long circular movement ( like with a polo stick ) is stretched out at its side, in uttāna tripatākā, while the right is near the chest, with the fingers pointing up.

On dhīt

Jump in this position.

On te

no movement.

On dhā

step with the right foot changing the position of the hands, the right to uttāna, and the left adhomukha. This figure is exactly like Fig. 4 of ādau XIX but the body is turned so that the left side faces the audience.

On tat

turning the body, so that the back is to the audience step forward with the left foot, send forward the left uttāna hand as in Fig. 1, the right near the chest.

On te

no movement,

On dhā

step with the right foot, and turn the body so that it faces the audience and swing the right arm this time till it is out at its side in uttāna tripatākā,

On dhit

On te

On dhā

39

jump.

no movement.

step with the left foot, and change the position of the hands so that the final pose is exactly like the final pose of ādau XIX.



## ĀDAU XXI

Bols : tat te dhā/dhit te dhā.

At the beginning of this ādau, the ūrdhva tripataṅkā hands face each other.

On tat            step with the right foot, and send forward very slightly the right hand, in the same pose ; Fig. 1 (it is a delicate movement ).

On te            no movement.

On dhā          step with the left foot, and send the left hand very slightly forward in the same way ; Fig. 1.

On dhīt        step with the right foot, and send out the right hand exactly as in Fig. 1, ādau XIX.

On te            no movement.

On dhā        left foot and hand exactly as in ādau XIX, Fig. 2.

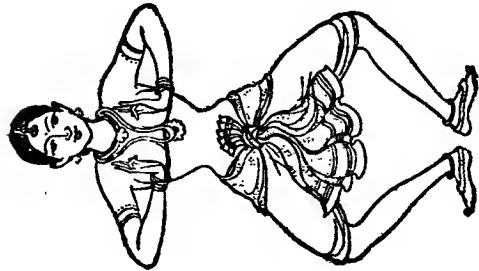
On tat          Jump as in Fig. 3, ādau XIX.

On dhā        right foot and hands exactly as in ādau XIX, Fig. 4.

Repeat these last movements to the bols dhit te dhā.

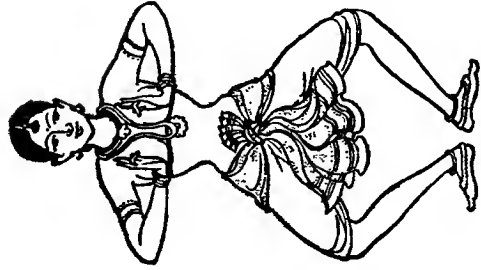
Āṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau commencing with the left foot, and sending forward the left hand first.

# Ādau XXI

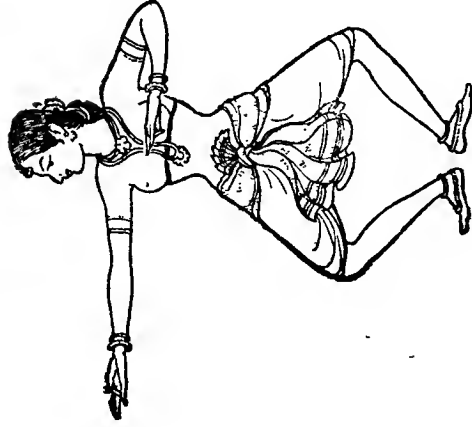


(1) XXI. 1.  
tat

(te)

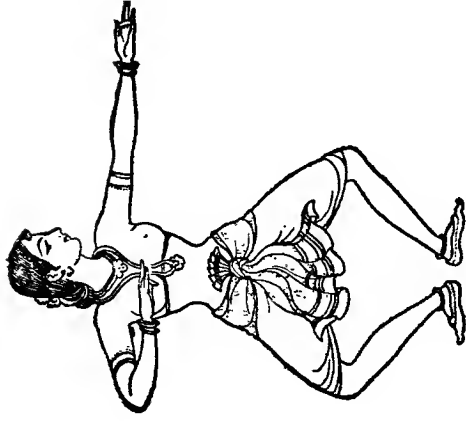


(2) XXI. 1.  
dhā

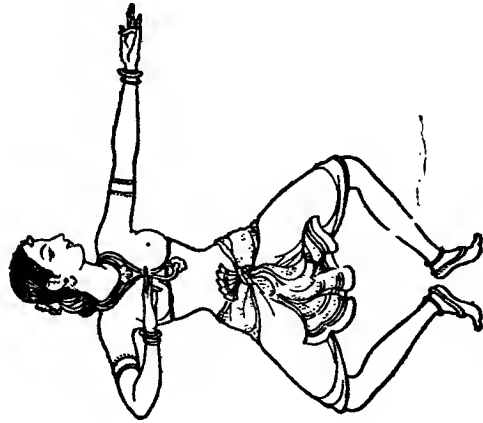


(8) XIX. 1.  
dhāt

(te)

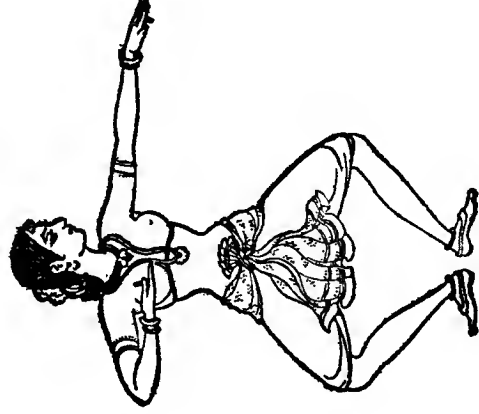


(4) XIX. 2.  
dhā

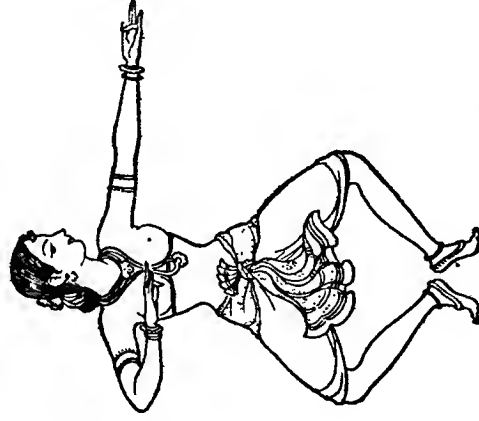


(5) XIX. 3.  
tat

(te)

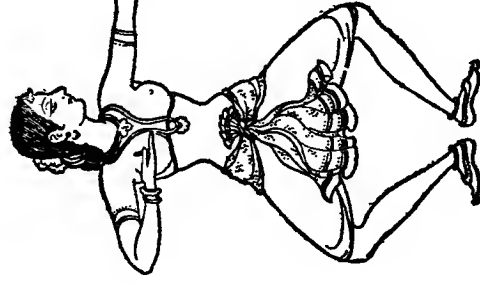


(6) XIX. 4.  
dhā



(7) XIX. 8.  
dhāt

(te)



(8) XIX. 4.  
dhā

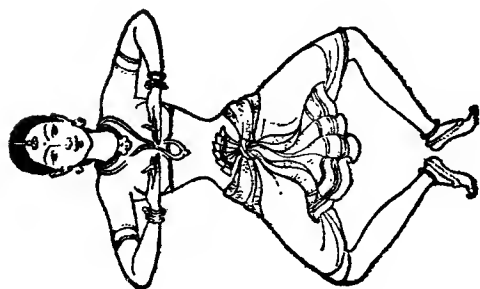
## ĀDAU XXII

Bols : tat te dhā/dhit te dhā.

On tat	Jump with both feet agratāla, hands uttāna tripatākā near the chest as in Fig. 1.
On te	no movement.
On dhā	step with right foot, and lower the adhomukha tripatākā right hand to the level of the knee, watching it, Fig. 2.
On dhīt	Jump again ; Fig. 1.
On dhā	step with left foot ; Fig. 3.
On tat	jump stretching the right parāṇmukha tripatākā hand obliquely in front, and keeping the left near the chest.
On dhā	step with the right foot, and change the position of the hand to uttāna ; Fig. 5.
On dhīt	jump, with left parāṇmukha hand in front.
On dhā	step with left foot, and change the position of the hands to uttāna ; Fig. 7.

## ĀDAU XXIII

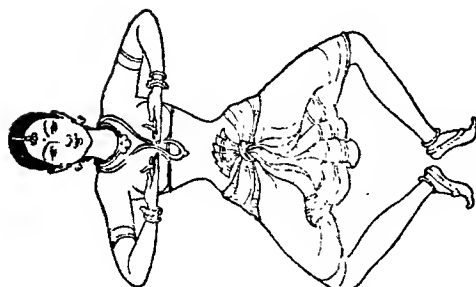
This āda is similar to āda XX, but the movements ( 1, 2 ; -1, 3 ; -4, 5 ; and -6, 7 ) are each repeated.



(1) XXII. 1.  
tat



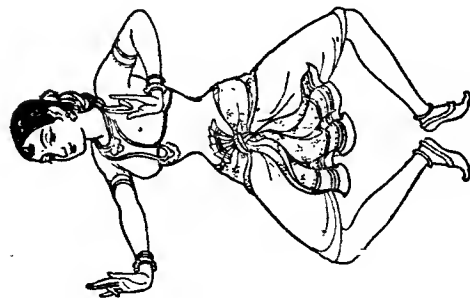
(2) XXII. 2.  
dhā



(3) XXII. 1.  
dhīt



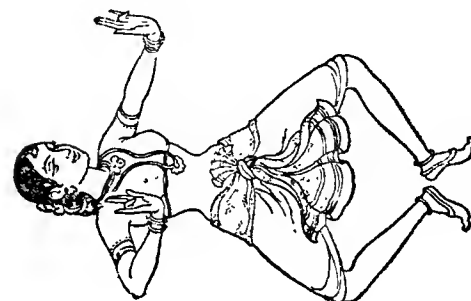
(4) XXII 3.  
dhā



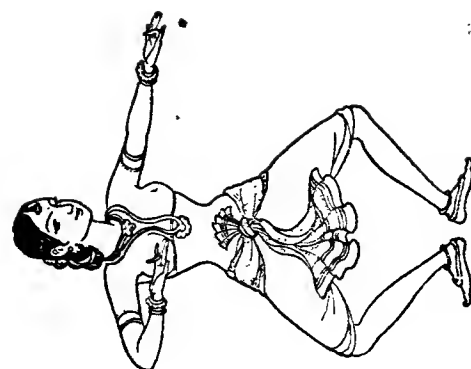
(5) XXII. 4.  
tat



(6) XXII. 5.  
dhā



(7) XXII. 6.  
dhīt



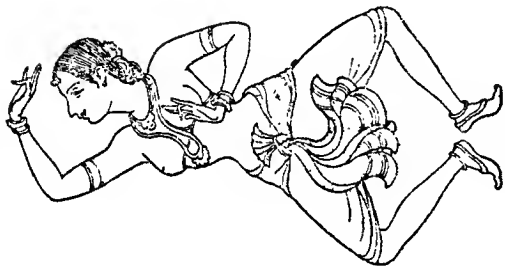
(8) XXII. 7.  
dhā



Ādau XXIV



XXIV. 1.  
tat (te) dhā

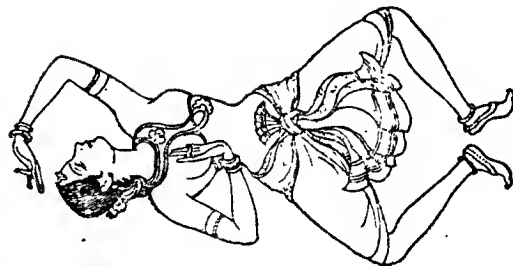


XXIV. 2.  
dhīt



XXIV. 1.  
dhā

(te)



XXIV. 4.  
dhīt



XXIV. 3.  
tat (te) dhā

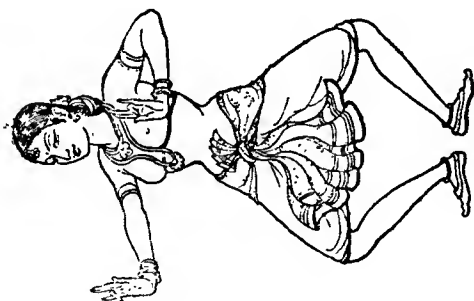


XXIV. 3.  
dhā

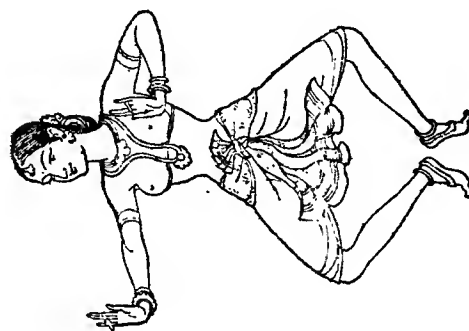
(te)



XXII. 5.  
tat



XXIV. 5.  
dhā

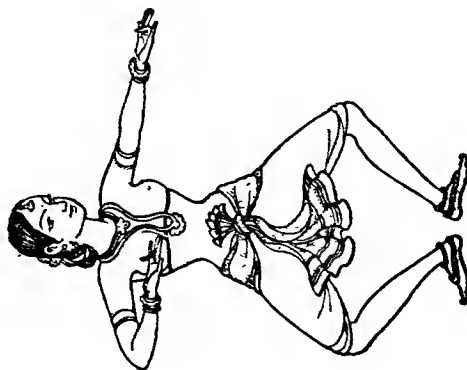


XXIV. 6.  
dhāt



XXII. 5.  
dhā

(te)

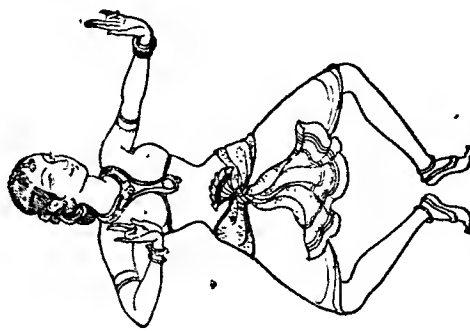


XXII. 7.  
tat

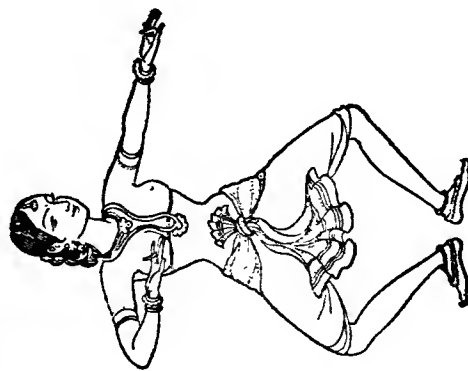
(te)



XXIV. 7.  
dhā



XXIV. 8.  
dhāt



XXII. 7.  
dhā

(te)

## ĀDAU XXIV

Bols : tat te dhā/ dhīt te dhā. तत् ते धा । धित् ते धा

On tat

step with the right foot, and lower the right tripatākā hand to the level of the knee, the left hand near the chest ; Fig. 1.

On te

no movement.

On dhā

step with the left foot, and make a very slight upward movement with the right wrist.

On dhīt

jump and throw up the right hand above the head as in Fig. 2.

On te

no movement.

On dhā

step with the right foot and lower the right hand to the level of the knee as in Fig. 1.

Āṅgaparyāya of these movements to the bols tat te dhā/ dhīt te dhā.  
Figs. : 3, 4, 3, of ādau XXIV.

On tat

step with the right foot, and stretch out the right uttāna hand exactly as in Fig. 5, ādau XXII.

On te

no movement.

On dhā

step with the left foot, and bring in the right shoulder very slightly, changing the position of the hands to parāṇmukha, Fig. 5, ādau XXIV.

On dhīt

jump and make another very slight movement with the shoulder as in Fig. 6, ādau XXIV.

On te

no movement.

On dhā

step the right foot and change the position of hands to uttāna ; Fig. 5, ādau XXII.

Āṅgaparyāya of these movements to the bols : tat te dhā/ dhīt te dhā ; Fig. 7, ādau XXII. Fig. 7, ādau XXIV. Fig. 7, ādau XXII.

## ĀDAU XXV

Bols : tat te dhā/dhit te dhā.

This ādau is exactly like ādau XXIV, but the movements are repeated. This is their sequence : 1, 1, 2 ; 1, 2, 1 ; 3, 3, 4 ; 3, 4, 3 ; 5, 5, 5 ; 5, 6, 5 ; 6, 5, 7 ; 7, 7, 7 ; 8, 7 ; 8, 7.

## ĀDAU XXVI

Bols : tā te te tā/dhit te te tā. ता ते ते ता । धित ते ते ता

In this ādau, and others with these bols, the dancer moves sideways doing four steps, first towards the right and then towards the left ; the hands work very gradually and gracefully in perfect rhythm with the footwork.

At the beginning of this ādau the feet are tryāśra, and hands alapadma near the chest as in Fig. 2 of ādau IX.

On tā  
beat 1  
step with the right foot, towards the right, and begin  
a circular movement with the right arm in front of the  
body by placing the right uttāna alapadma hand in front  
as in Fig. 1.

on te  
beat 2  
step again with the right towards the right, and the  
right hand continuing its circle, is moved towards the  
right.

on te  
beat 3  
step with the left kuñcita foot behind the right and  
the right hand continuing its circle is now almost at  
its side.

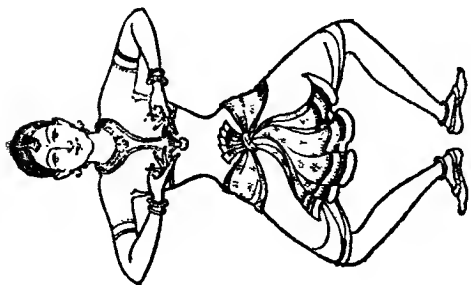
on tā  
beat 4  
step with right foot, and the right hand after completing  
the circle, is now near the chest ; Fig. 2.

Āṅgaparyāya of these movements to the bols : dhīt (Fig. 3) te te tā.  
On tā, te, te tā, do the same steps moving towards the right, and  
bring the left patākā hand from behind the body (Fig. 5) and send it out  
in front gradually until it is completely stretched.

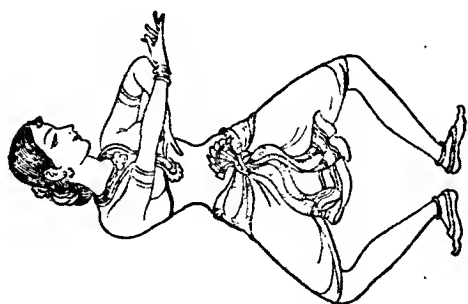
Āṅgaparyāya of these movements to the bols : dhīt te te tā. The  
dancer faces the audience all through the ādau.

Āṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau, commencing with the left foot,  
and sending the left hand in a circle in front of the body.

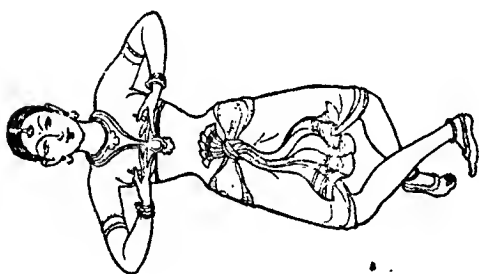
## Ādau XXVI



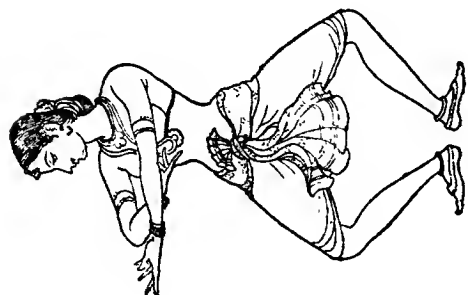
IX. 2.  
(Starting pose)



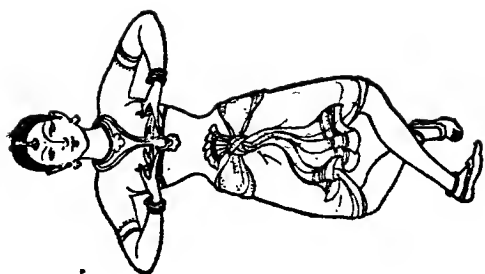
XXVI. 1.  
tā (beat 1)



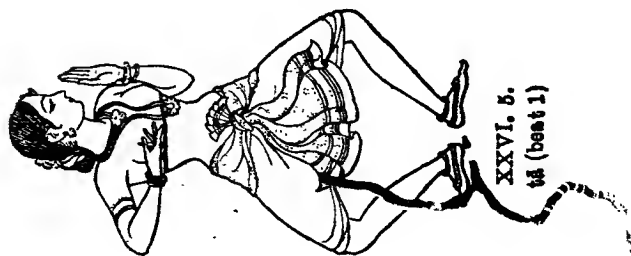
XXVI. 2.  
tā (beat 4)



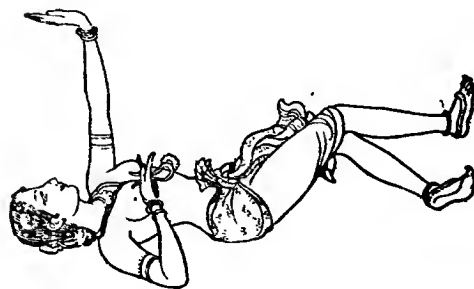
XXVI. 3.  
dhīt (beat 1)



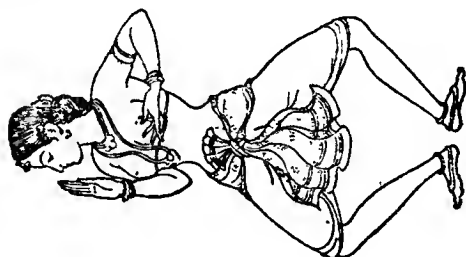
XXVI. 4.  
tā (beat 4)



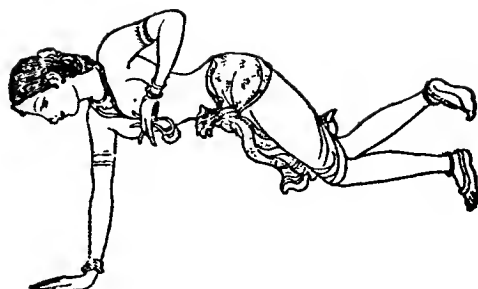
XXVI. 5.  
tā (beat 1)



XXVI. 6.  
tā (beat 4)



XXVI. 7.  
dhīt (beat 1)



XXVI. 8.  
tā (beat 4)

## ĀDAU XXVII

Bols : tā te te tā/dhit te te tā.

The steps of this ādau are similar to those of ādau XXVI, and the dancer faces the audience the whole time. At the beginning of the ādau the hands are in śikhara on the shoulders as in Fig. 1 of Guru Vandanam.

On tā, te, te tā send out the right hand gradually until it is completely beats 1, 2, 3, 4, stretched out in front, on beat 4, tā ; Fig. 1.

On dhrit te te tā move towards the left, and send out the left hand until it meets the right hand ; Fig. 2.

On tā te te tā again moving towards the right, bring in towards the chest the right abhimukha tripatakā hand, while the left parāñmukha hand is stretched out in front ; Fig. 3.

On dhrit, te, te tā, moving towards the left, bring' in the left abhimukha tripatakā hand in the same way ; Fig. 4.\*

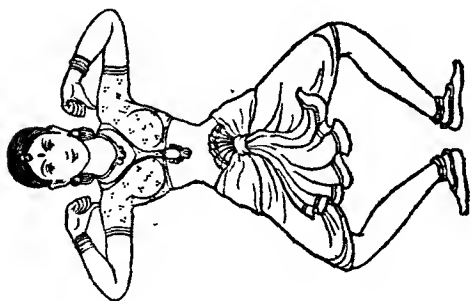
Āṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau.

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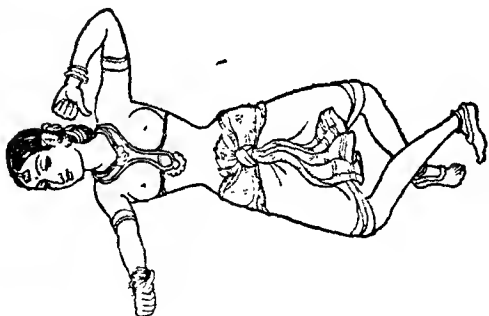
\*Fig. 4 which is not shown here is exactly like Fig. 3 but the right hand is extended while the left is brought near the chest,

# Adau XXVII

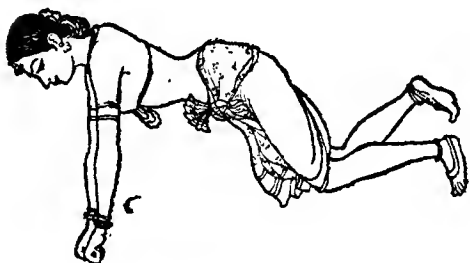
42



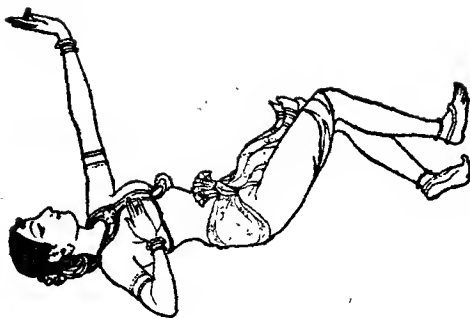
1  
Guruvandanam  
Starting Pose



XXVII.1.  
beat 4



XXVII.2.  
beat 4  
(Dancer faces audience)



XXVII.3.  
beat 4  
(Dancer faces audience)



### ĀDAU XXVIII

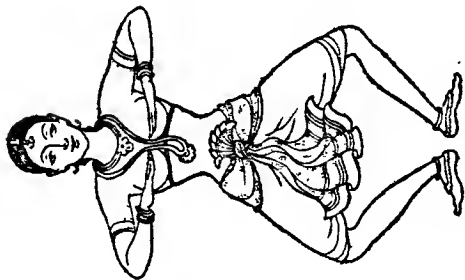
Bols : tā te te ta/ dhrit te te tā.

At the beginning of this ādau, both adhomukha patākā hands are near the chest as in Fig. 1.

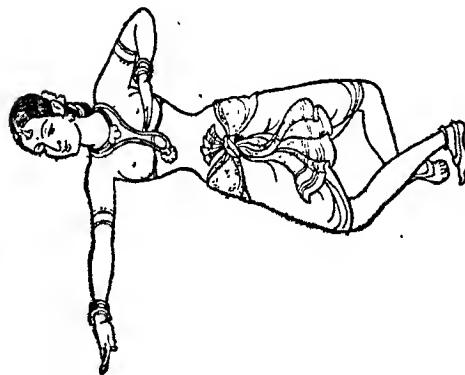
On tā, te te tā move sideways towards the right and send out the right  
1, 2, 3, 4, hand in a circle until it comes back to near the chest.  
dhrit te te tā Aṅgaparyāya.

Aṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau.

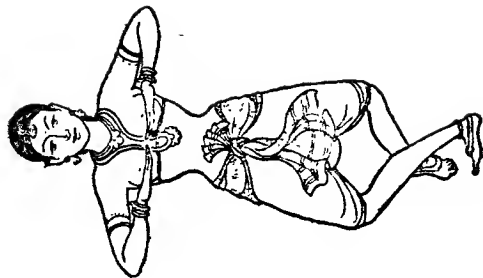
## Ādau XXVIII



XXVIII. 1.

ता  
ता

XXVIII. 2.

ते ते  
te te

XXVIII. 3.

ता  
ता

## ĀDAU XXIX

Bols : ta te te tā/dhit te te tā.

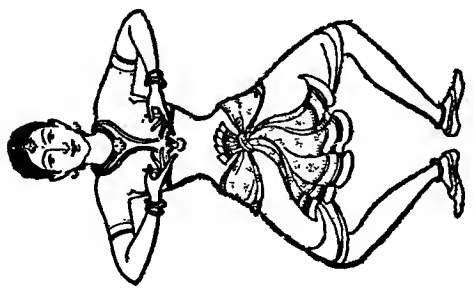
Doing the same steps as in the previous ādaus, send up both arms in a large circle (down and up), the hands in alapadma, until they meet in svastika above the head. Watch the course of the right hand and bend the body to the right so that on beat 4, tā, it is like Fig. 1.

To the bols dhrit te te tā, move sideways to the left, and bring down the arms in another circular movement until they are near the chest in alapadma on beat 4, tā ; this pose is similar to Fig. 2 of ādau XXVI excepting that the right toe should be behind the left foot, instead of the left toe being behind the right.

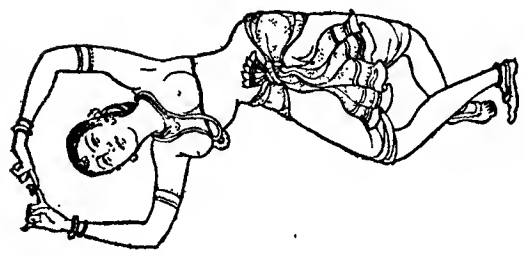
Āṅgaparyāya of the whole āda.

Adau XXIX

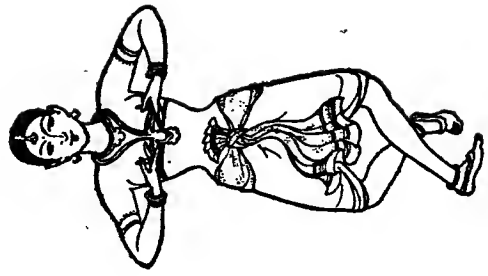
43



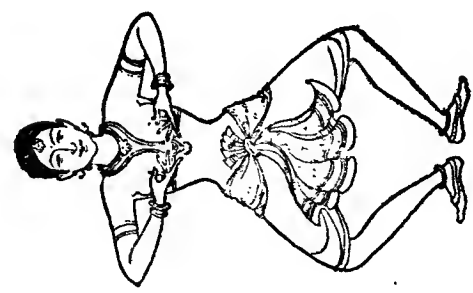
IX. 2.  
Starting pose  
tã te te



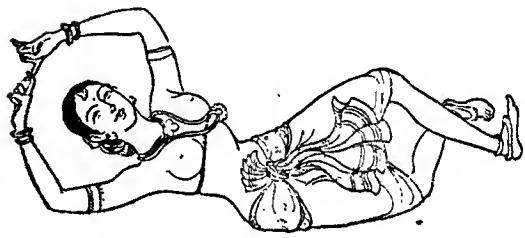
XXIX. 1.  
tã



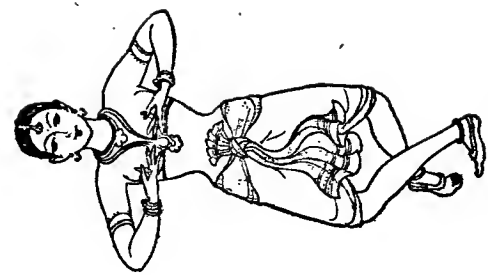
XXVI. 4.  
dhít te te tã



IX. 2.  
tã te te



XXIX. 2.  
tã  
dhít te te



XXVI. 2.  
tã

# ĀDAU XXX

Bols : tā te te tā/dhit te te tā,

At the beginning of this ādau both hands are hamsavaktra near the chest, the feet tryāśra exactly as in Fig. 1, ādau X.

On tā, te, te,  
beats 1, 2, 3,

move towards the right with the same steps as in the previous ādaus, and send out the right alapadma hand in a large upward circle, as in Figs. 1, 2, 3, until it is near the chest in hamsavaktra, step with right foot,

On tā (beat 4)

the left toe is behind the right foot, and the pose is exactly like Fig. 8 of ādau I.

On dhrit te, te  
beats 1, 2, 3,

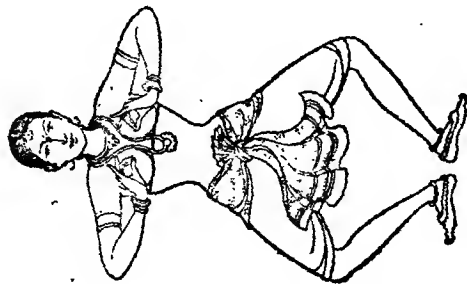
move towards the left doing the same steps (lt, lt, rt toe) and send up the left arm, the left hand hamsavaktra, exactly like Figs. 1, 2, 3.

On tā (beat 4)

step with left foot, and both hands are hamsavaktra exactly as if Fig. 4, ādau I.

Anigaparyāya. Tā, te, te are exactly like Figs. 1, 2, 3, the only difference is the left arm goes up, and the left foot steps towards the left.

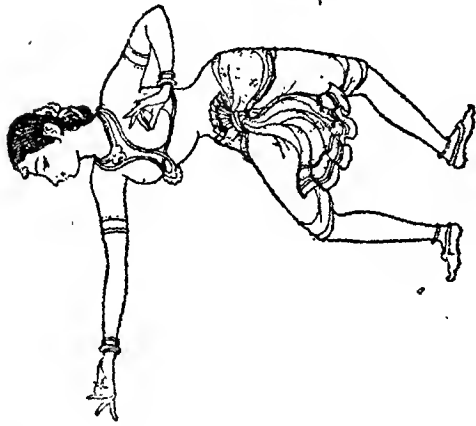
# Adau XXX



X. 1.  
Starting pose



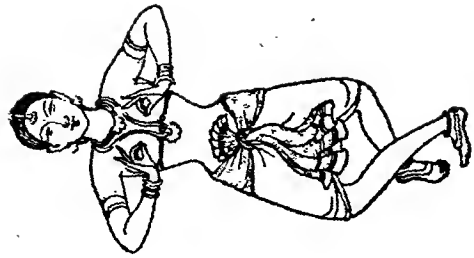
XXX. 1.  
th



XXX. 2.  
to



XXX. 3.  
to



I. 8.  
th

## ĀDAU XXXI

Bols : tā te te tā/dhit te te tā.

After doing ādaу XXX with its aṅgaparyāya, to the bols tā, te, te, tā/dhit, te, te, tā, do the same steps moving towards the right (rt, rt, lt toe, rt) to the same bols, and then towards the left (lt, lt, rt toe, lt) to the bols tā, te, te, tā/dhit, te, te, tā, respectively.

On tā bring the left parāṇmukha hand hamsavaktra, from behind the body as in Fig. 4, ādaу, X so that after doing te, te,

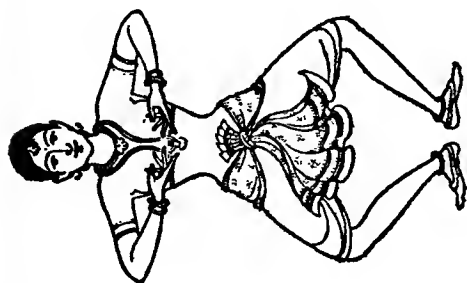
On tā it is in front of the body as in Fig. 5, ādaу X, body faces audience, and the left toe is behind the right foot in this pose.

In the same way, to the bols dhit, te, te, tā, bring the right hamsavaktra hand from behind the body as in Fig. 6, ādaу X, to the front, doing the same steps (lt, lt rt toe lt).

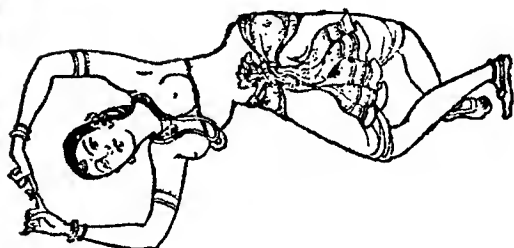
## ĀDAU XXXII.

This ādaу is similar to ādaу XXIX, but after moving towards the right, and returning to the centre, the dancer doing the same steps and hand movements goes forward in an oblique direction, and returns to the centre.

In the same way do aṅgaparyāya which includes doing ādaу XXIX moving towards the left (starting with the left foot), and going forward in an oblique direction towards the left.

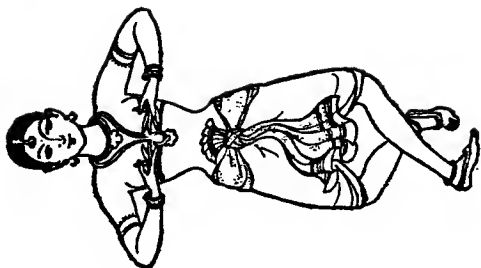


IX.2.  
ता 1  
rt.



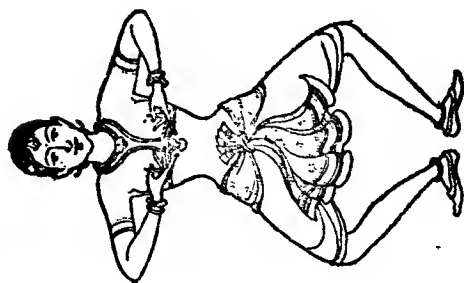
(ते ते)  
2 3  
rt. lt. toe.

XXIX.1.  
ता 4  
rt.

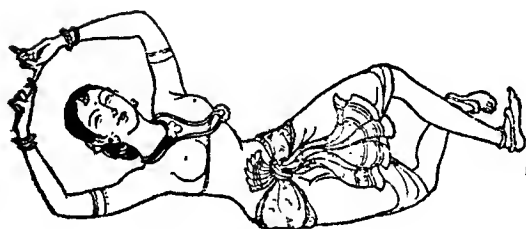


XXVI.4.  
ता 4  
lt.

(धिप् ते ते)  
1 2 3  
lt. lt. rt. toe

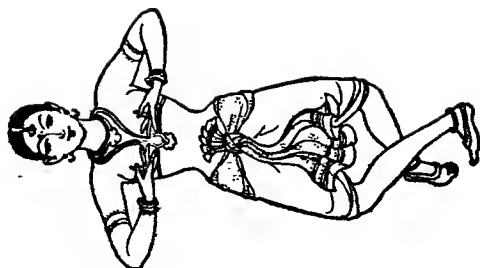


IX.2.  
ता  
lt.



(te te)  
rt. rt. toe

XXIX.2.  
ता  
lt.

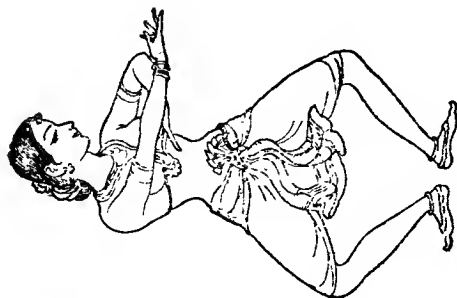


XXVI.2.  
ता  
rt.

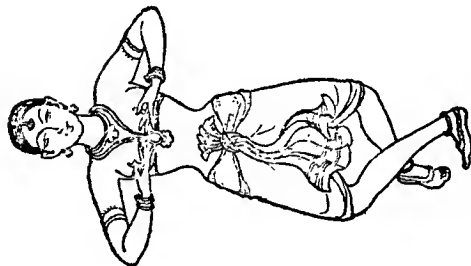
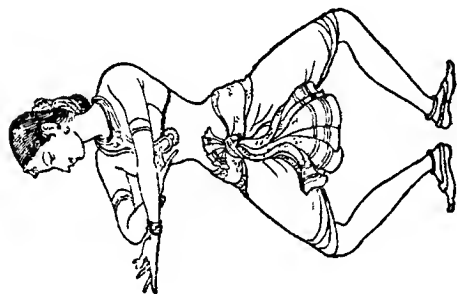
(dhit te te)  
rt. rt. lt. toe



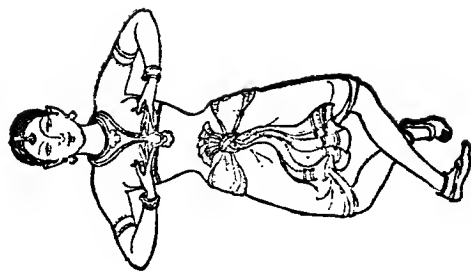
## Ādau XXXIII

XXVI. 1.  
tā

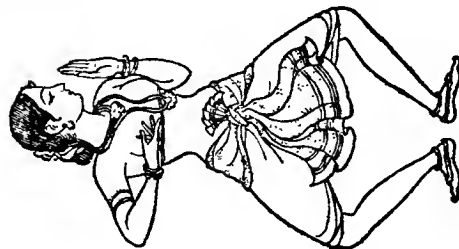
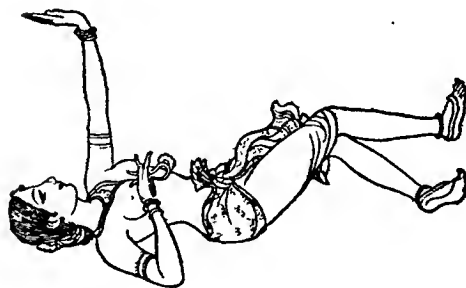
(te te)

XXVI. 2.  
tāXXVI. 3.  
dhīt

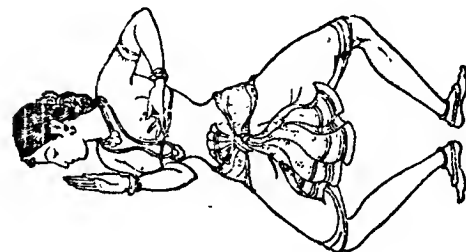
(te te)

XXVI. 4.  
tā

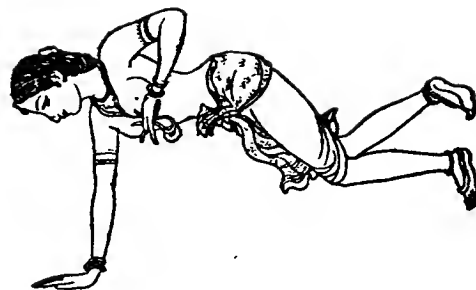
(te te)

XXVI. 5.  
tāXXVI. 6.  
dhīt

(te te tā, etc.)



XXVI. 7.

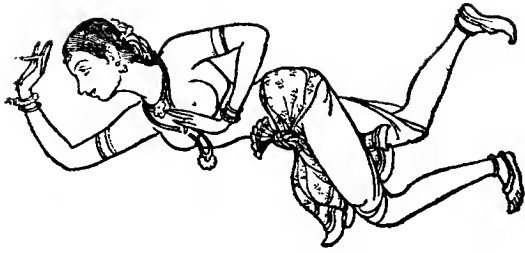


XXVI. 8.



XXXIII. 1.  
tā

(te te)



XXXIII. 2.  
tā

dhīt te te tā

### ĀDAU XXXIII

Bols : tā, te, te, tā/dhīt, te, te, tā.

First do ādaṁ XXVI with its āṅgaparyāya.

Then on tā lower the tripataṅkā hand to near the right añcita foot (beat 1) (which is placed in front of the body as in Fig. 1.)

On te (beat 2) step with the left foot in this position.

On te (beat 3) step with the right foot kuñcita placed behind the left, and gradually raise the hand so that on

tā (beat 4) the right hand is above the head; and step with the left foot. Fig. 2.

\* Āṅgaparyāya of these movements to the bols dhīt te te tā.\*

Āṅgaparyāya : Repeat these steps to the bols dhīt, te, te tā with the left foot in front, and the left hand lowered in the same way.

\*The steps are similar to those of ādaṁ IV and the body faces the audience all the time.

## ĀDAU XXXIV

Bols : te hat/te ī. ते हत् । ते ई

The steps of nearly all ādaus with these bols are called udghāṭita, that is the heels are raised and after a simultaneous jump, are lowered in one place.

On te                      jump with both feet in agratāla, and open out the uttāna alapadma hands at their sides, watching the right hand ;  
Fig. 1.

On hat                    lower the heels ( touching each other ) ; Fig. 2.\*  
On te                    jump again in the same way, and change the position of hands to parāṇmukha hamsavaktra ; Fig. 3.

On ī                      lower the heels as before, Fig. 4.  
On te                    jump and make svastika of the uttāna alapadma hands ;  
Fig. 5.

On hat                   lower the heels ; Fig. 6.  
On te                    jump and send out the hands to their sides in parāṇmukha hamsavaktra ; Fig. 3.  
On ī                      lower the heels ; Fig. 4.

Angaparyāya is exactly as above, only the dancer watches the left hand all the time.

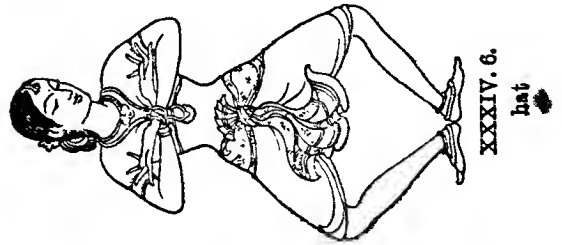
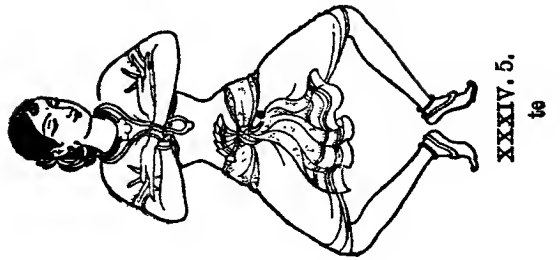
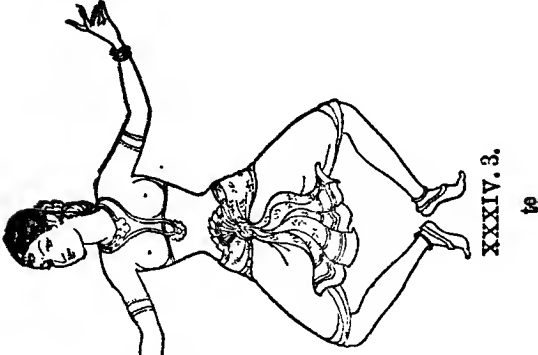
## ĀDAU XXXV

This ādau is similar to ādau XXXIV, only the movements are repeated ( 1-4 ; 5, 6, 3, 4 ; ).

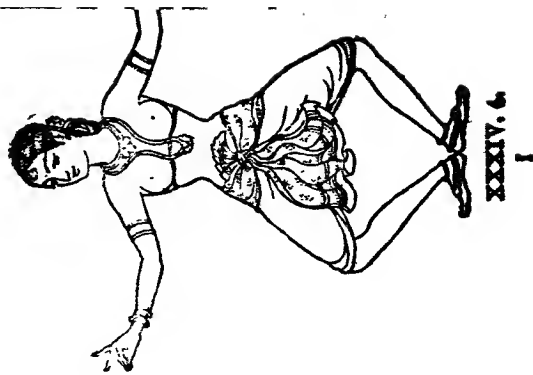
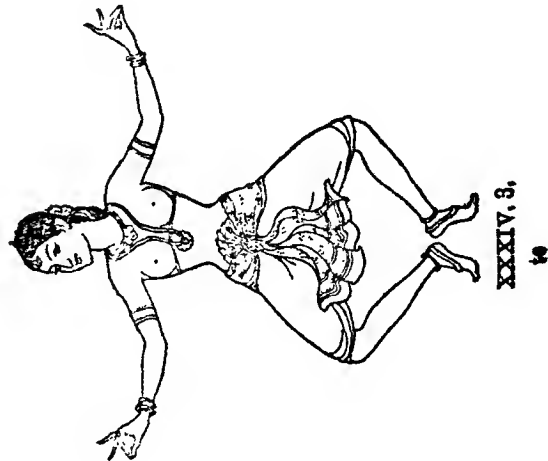
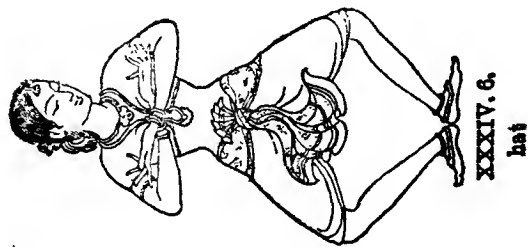
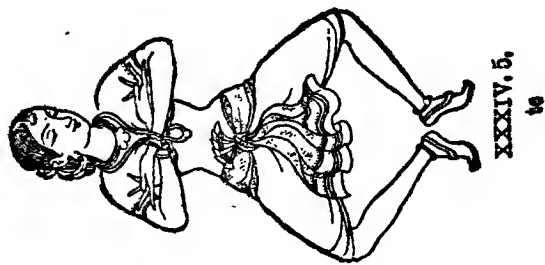
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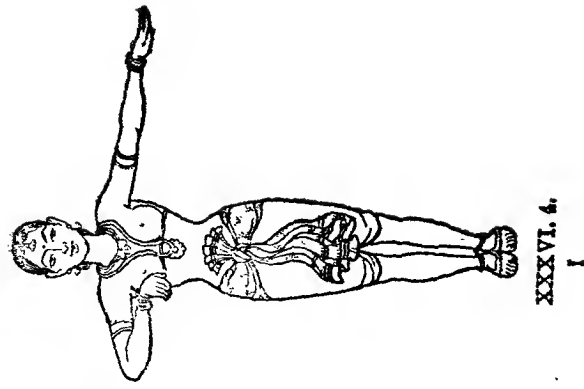
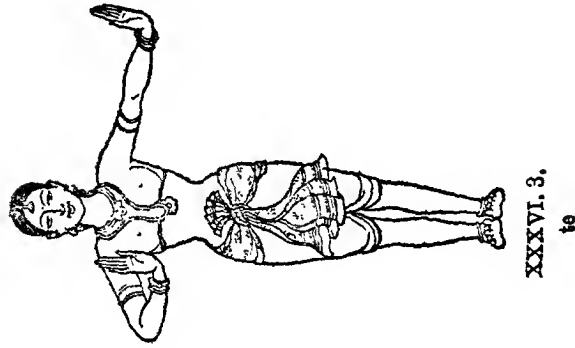
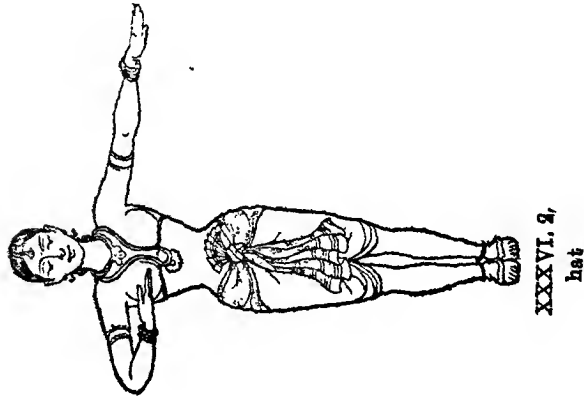
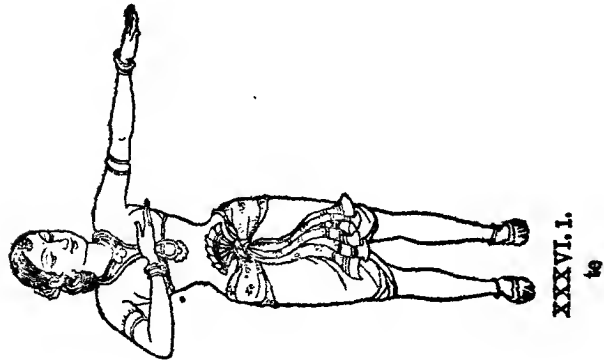
\* The heels must be lowered very firmly.

# Adau XXXIV



# Ādau XXXVI





## ĀDAU XXXVI

Bols : te hat/ te ī.

First do ādaū XXXIV.

Then on te

with legs and feet sama move towards the right, step with right foot, the right uttāna patākā hand is near the left breast, while the left adhomukha hand is out in a semi-circle, watch the right hand ; Fig. 1.

On hat

draw the left foot to meet the right, and move the right hand to the right breast ; Fig. 2.

On te

raise the heels, and bend back the wrists ; Fig. 3.

On ī

slap down the heels with a slight jump, and also the wrists, so that the fingers point to the audience, and hands are adhomukha ; Fig. 4.

Do āṅgaparyāya of these movements, to the bols te hat/ te ī, moving towards the left with the left foot in the same way.

Do te hat/ te ī exactly like these last four steps, moving towards the left, and moving the left hand from near the right breast to the left breast,

# Ādau XXXVIII



XXXIV. 1.

to



XXXIV. 2.

hat



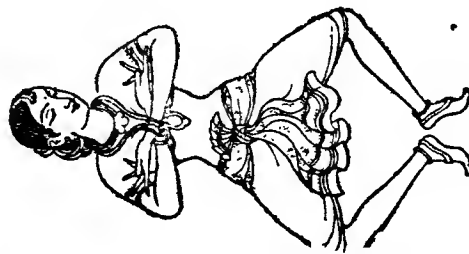
XXXIV. 3.

to



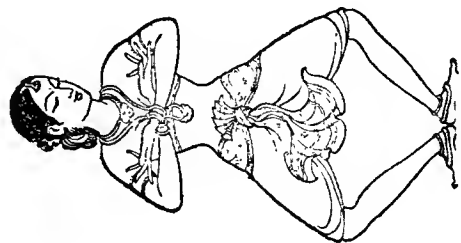
XXXIV. 4.

I



XXXIV. 5.

to



XXXIV. 6.

hat



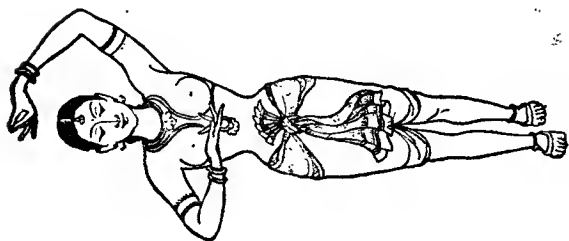
XXXIV. 3.

to



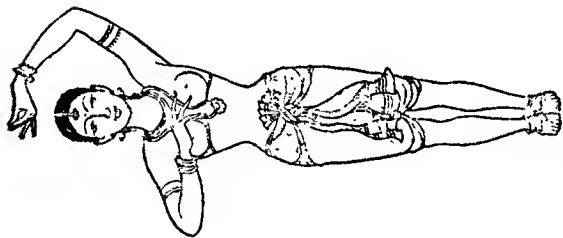
XXXIV. 4.

I



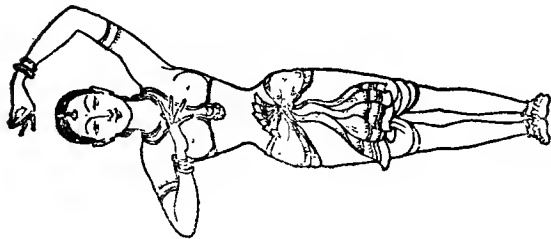
XXXVIII. 1.

te



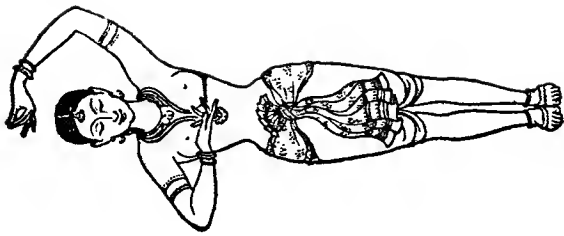
XXXVIII. 2.

hat



XXXVIII. 3.

te



XXXVIII. 4.

ī

### ĀDAU XXXVII

This ādau is like ādau XXXVI, but the movements are repeated.

First do ādau XXXIV on both sides, first watching the right hand, and then in the aṅgaparyāya watching the left.

Then draw up each foot twice and move in each direction twice.

Move in the same way towards the left ; the left hand also works in the same way as the right as in the above figures.

### ĀDAU XXXVIII

Bols : te hat/ te ī.

First do ādau XXXIV.

On te.

move forward with the right foot, raise the uttāna

alapadma hand slightly so that it is abhimukha, and

keep the left uttāna haṁsavaktra over the head ; Fig. 1.



on hat draw up the left to meet the right as in Fig. 2.  
 on te raise the soles ; Fig. 3.  
 on ī slap down both feet after a slight jump, and the right hand is uttāna alapadma ; Fig. 4.

Do aṅgaparyāya of these movements to the bols te hat/te ī.

Do aṅgaparyāya of the last four movements to the bols te hat/te ī.

### ĀDAU XXXIX

This ādau is similar to ādau XXXVIII but the movements are repeated. After doing ādau XXXIV twice, step forward with the right foot, and join up with the left foot twice, and raise and slap down the heels also twice, to the bols tehat/teḥ/teī/teī. Move forward with the left foot in the same way.

### ĀDAU XL

Bols : te hat/te ī.

Udghāṭita steps all through this ādau.

On te hat udghāṭita step, and open out the right uttāna alapadma hand at the back keeping the left near the chest in hamsavaktra ; Fig. 1.

te ī udghāṭita step and change the right hand to hamsavaktra ; Fig. 2.

te hat, te ī Aṅgaparyāya of these movements ; Figs. 3 and 4.

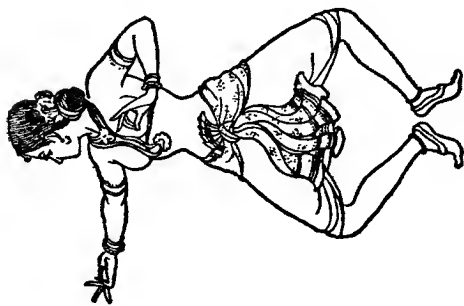
Then on te hat udghāṭita step and raise the tripatakā hand above the head as in Fig. 2, ādau XXIV.

on te ī udghāṭita step and lower the right tripatakā hand ; Fig. 5.

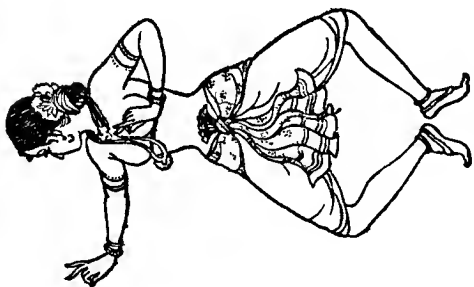
te hat, te ī aṅgaparyāya of these movements ; Fig. 4, ādau XXIV and Fig. 6, ādau XL.

### ĀDAU XLI

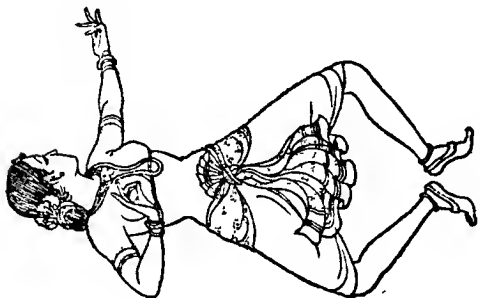
This ādau is similar to ādau XL, but the movements are repeated (1, 2 ; 3, 4 ; 2, 5 ; 4, 6 ; ).



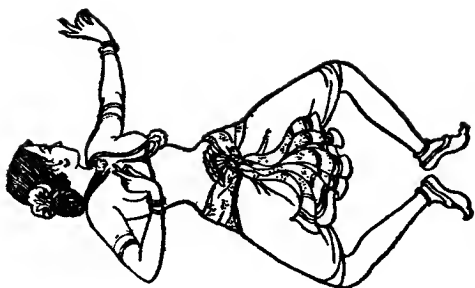
XL. 1.  
to hat



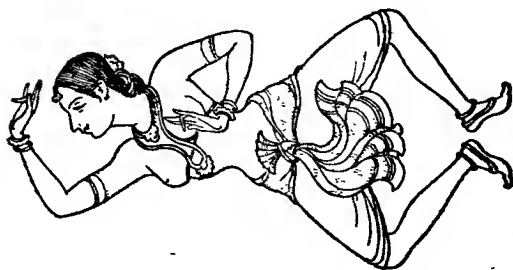
XL. 2.  
to I



XL. 3.  
to hat



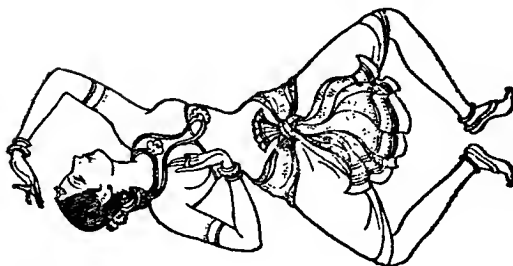
XL. 4.  
to I



XXIV. 2.  
to hat



XL. 5.  
to I



XXIV. 4.  
to hat



XL. 6.  
to I

## ĀDAU XLII

Bols : te, te/dhit dhit te. ते ते । धित् धित् ते

In this ādau one arm is in a semi-circle, with the elbow slightly bent while the other hand does the movements.

On te

step with the right kuñcita foot ( placed behind the left ), bend the body to the right, and make a slight upward movement with the right alapadma hand, and keep the left arm out at its side in a semi-circular pose ; Fig. 1.

On te

step with the left foot, and make another slight upward movement with the right hand.

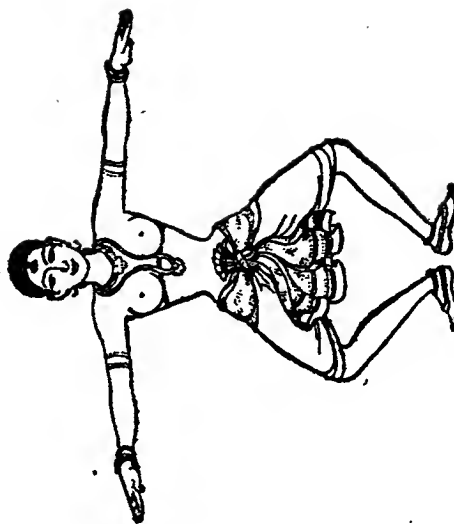
On dhit dhit te

step towards the right with the whole feet ( rt, lt, rt ) at the same time make three rhythmic movements with the right adhomukha patākā hand in front of the body until the right arm is also in a semi-circle on the last beat te.

The final pose is exactly like Fig. 3, ādau XII.  
Angaparyāya of the whole ādau.



XIII. 1.  
ते ते ते  
te te te



XII. 8.  
ते ते  
te te

(धित् धित्)  
(dhit dhit)

Bols : te hat, te ī/te hat, te ī/te te, dhīt dhīt te. ते हत् । ते ई । ते हत् ते ई ।

ते ते धित् धित् ते

As in the previous ādau, the left arm is in a semi-circle all the time.  
On tehat do udghāṭita step, and open out the uttāna alapadma hand near the chest ; Fig. 1.

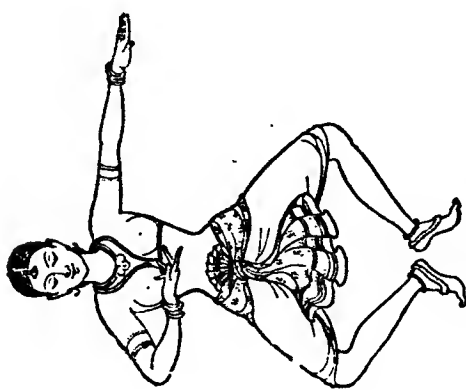
On te ī udghāṭita step, and change the right hand to hamsavaktra ;  
Fig. 2.

Repeat these movements to the bols tehat teī.

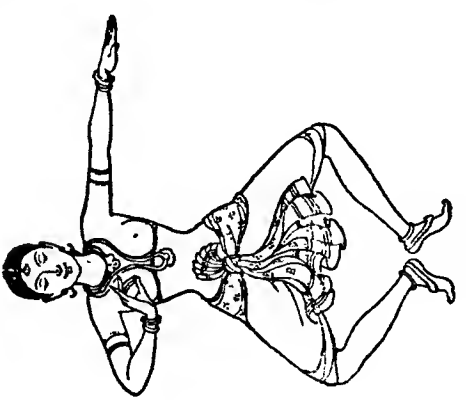
On te, te, dhīt dhīt te, do the same movements as in the previous ādau.

Āṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau.

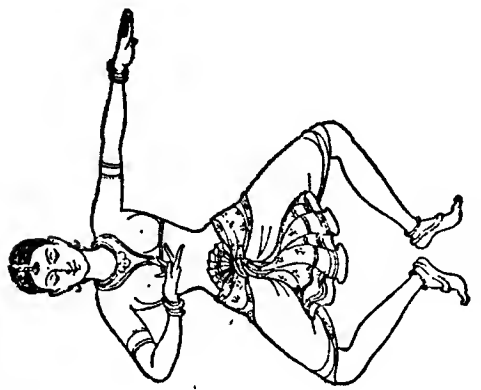
LAGRU 41111



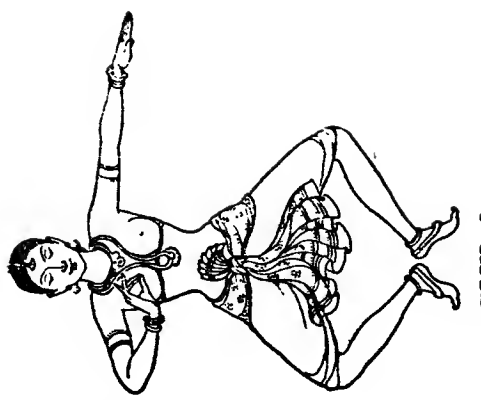
XLIII. 1.  
to hat



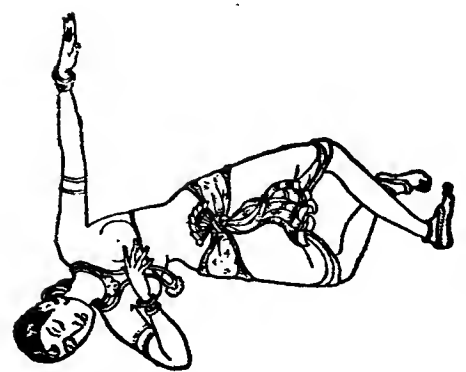
XLIII. 2.  
to I



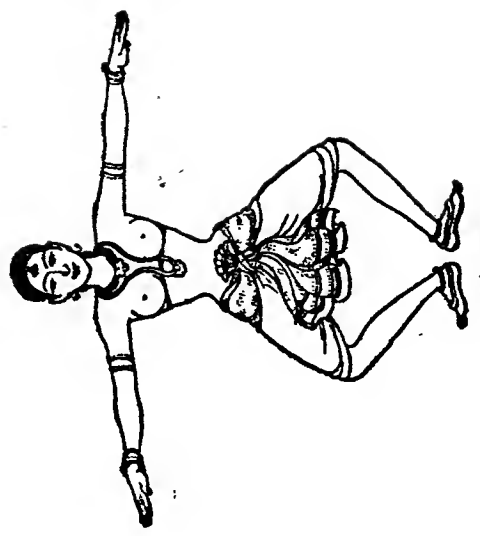
XLIII. 1.  
to hat



XLIII. 2.  
to I



XLII. 1.  
to to



XLII. 2.  
to

(dhit dhit)

## ĀDAU XLIV

Bols : te/ te/ dhīt dhīt te/ tā. ते । ते । धित् धित् ते । ता

In this ādau also one arm is out in a semi-circle, all the time.

- On te            jump with both feet agratāla, and send out the right  
                   alapadma hand gracefully ( downwards ) so that (Fig. 1)  
 On te            it is out at its side in parāṇmukha, and at the same time  
                   step with foot tryaśra as in Fig. 1, right.  
 On dhīt        step with left foot añcita and bring in the right hamsa-  
                   vaktra hand towards the body as in Fig. 2.  
 On dhīt        step with right foot, and bring the right hand still nearer  
                   the face until  
 On te            it is abhimukha alapadma, and at the same time, step with  
                   left foot tryaśra ; Fig. 3.  
 On tā            step with right foot, and send out the right hand in a  
                   semi-circle, so that the final pose is exactly like Fig. 3,  
                   ādau XII.

Āṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau.

## ĀDAU XLV

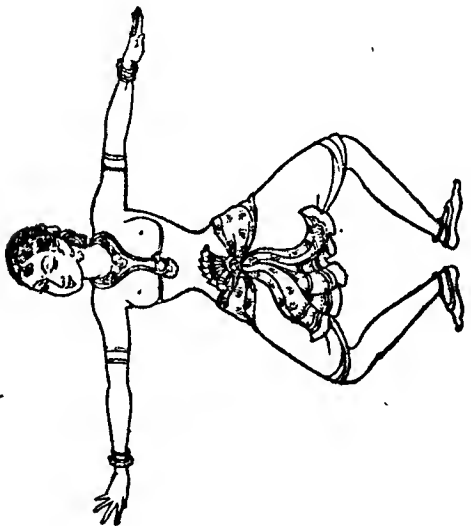
Bols : te, te, te, te/ dhīt dhīt te. ते ते ते ते । धित् धित् ते

This ādau is exactly like ādau XLII, but the first two steps are repeated.

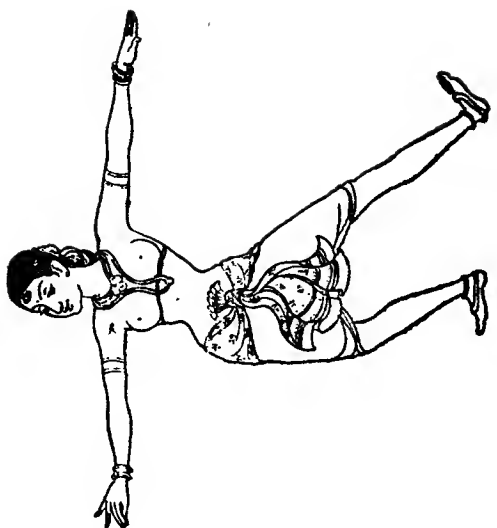
Ādau XLIV



XLIII. 1.  
to



XLIV. 1.  
to



XLIV. 2.  
dhit



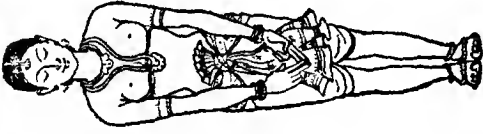
XLIV. 3.  
dhit



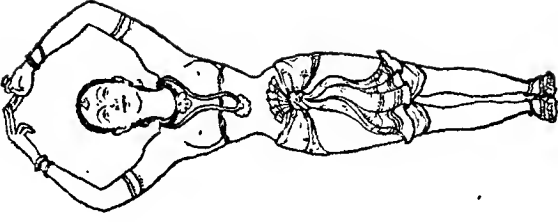
XL. 8.  
to



## Ādau XLVI



XLVI.1.  
धित् धित् ते  
dhit dhit te



XLVI.2.  
धित् धित् ते  
dhit dhit te

## ĀDAU XLVI

In this ādau the legs are sama, the toes raised.

Bols : dhit dhit te. धित् धित् ते

On dhit dhit te move forward, making three very short steps, and join the fingers of both hands in ardhapatakā as in Fig. 1 (the right hand over the left).

On dhit dhit te make three more steps forward, starting with the left foot, and change the position of the hands to left over right.

On dhit dhit te moving forward in the same way, raise the hands over the head as in Fig. 2.

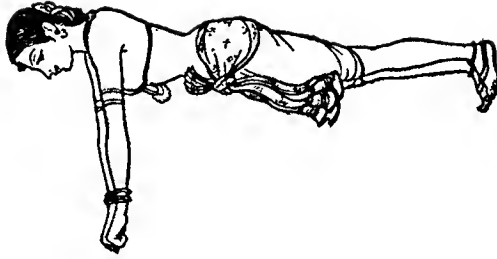
Finally on dhit dhit te, three more steps forward, and change the position of the hands.

## ĀDAU XLVII

Bols : dhīt dhīt te.

The steps are exactly like those of the previous ādau, but the hands move as in ādau XXVII. Fig. 1, is the position of the hands on the te of the second group of steps.

## Ādau XLVII



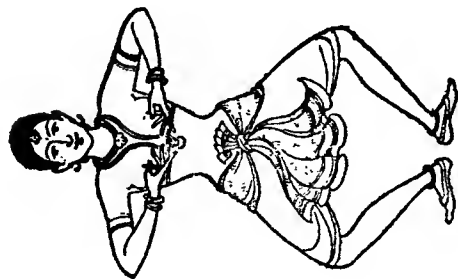
XLVII. 1.

धि॒त् धि॒त् ते

dhīt dhīt te

(Body faces audience)

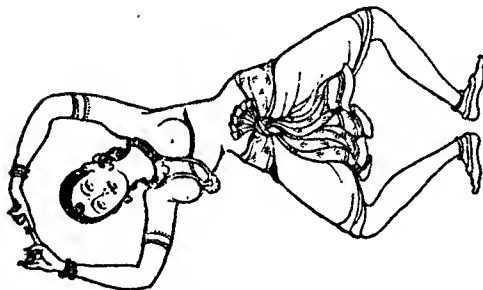
# Ādau XLVIII



IX. 2.

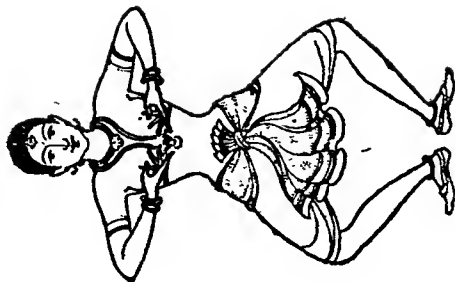
Starting pose

dhit dhit  
rt. lt.



XLVIII. 1.

dhit dhit  
lt. rt.



IX. 2.

te  
lt.

## ĀDAU XLVIII

Bols : dhit dhit te.

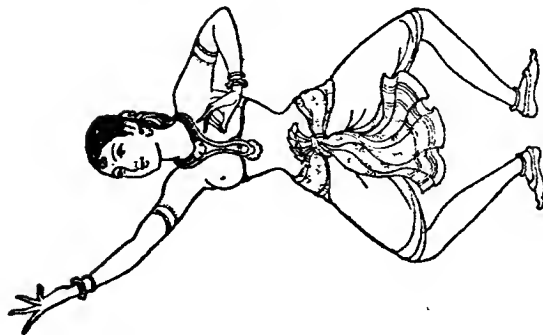
In this ādau move sideways, making three firm steps with tryaśra feet, hands as in ādau XXIX.

# ĀDAU IXL

Bols : dhiti dhiti te.

Do the steps of the previous ādau, but hand movements of ādau XXX.

## Ādau IXL



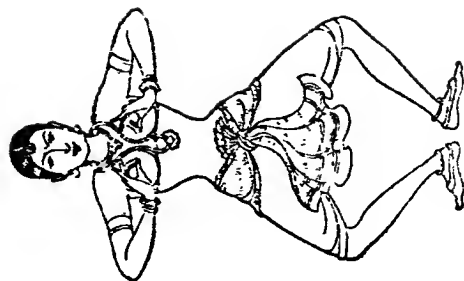
XXX. 1.

dhiti  
rt.



XXX. 2.

dhiti  
lt.



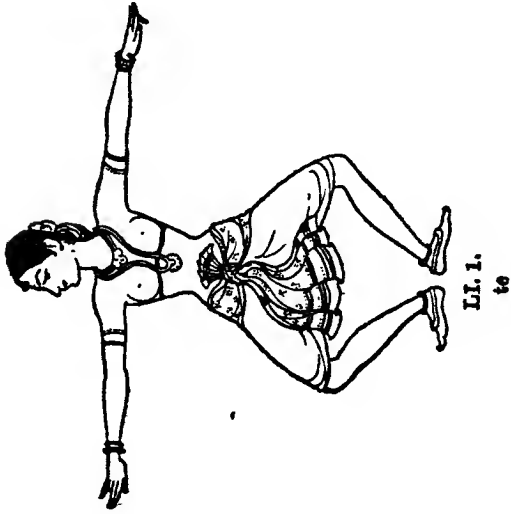
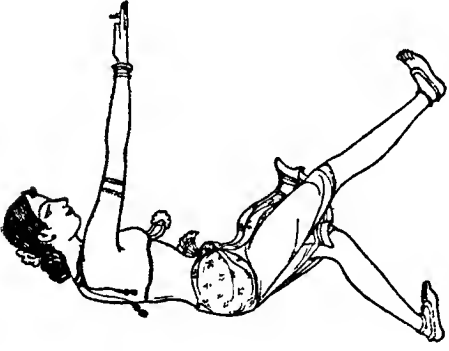
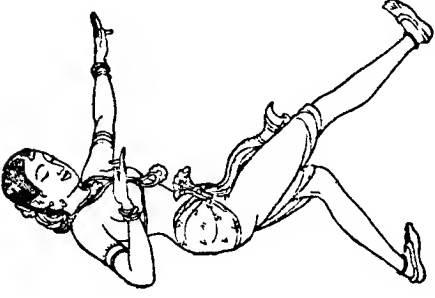
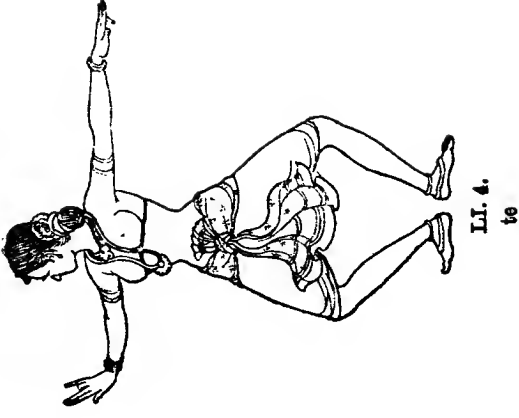
X. 1.

te  
rt.

## ĀDAU L

As in ādau XXXII, move sideways first towards right, then towards left, and then forward towards the right doing all the steps and hand movements of ādau XLVIII.

## Ādau Lī

Lī. 1.  
teLī. 2.  
dhrit  
(Body faces audience)Lī. 3.  
dhrit  
(Body faces audience)Lī. 4.  
te

## ĀDAU Lī

Bols : te/dhrit dhrit te. ते । चित् चित् ते

One arm remains in a semi-circle all through this ādau, while the other hand is in tripatākā near the chest.

On te

step with the right foot, and change the position of the right hand to parāṇmukha ; Fig. 1.

On dhrit

step with right foot añcita in front of the body, and thrust out the right uttāna tripatākā hand in front as Fig. 2.

On dhrit

step with left foot tryāśra, and bring in the right hand near the chest ; Fig. 3.

Finally on te,

step with the right foot tryāśra, and send the right hand behind the body, so that it is parāṇmukha ; Fig. 4.

Āṅgaparyāya.

## ĀDAU LII

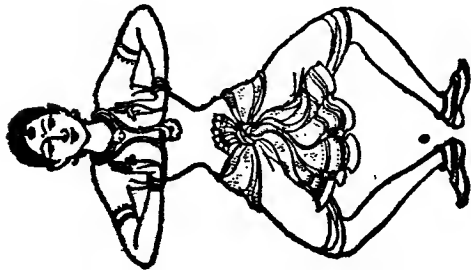
Bols : te, te, dhit dhit te. ते। ते। धित् धित् ते

On te step with right foot, send forward very slightly the right tripatākā hand near the chest, just as in Fig. 1, ādau XXI.  
On te step with left foot, and send forward the left hand in the same way.

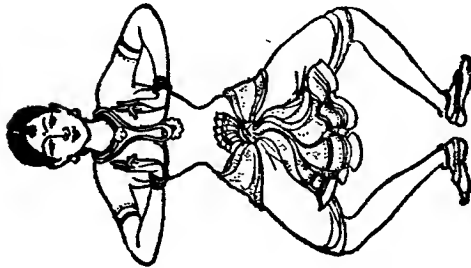
Do dhit, dhit te exactly like ādau LI, the only difference is the left hand is in tripatākā near the chest the whole time and not out in a semi-circle.

Āṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau.

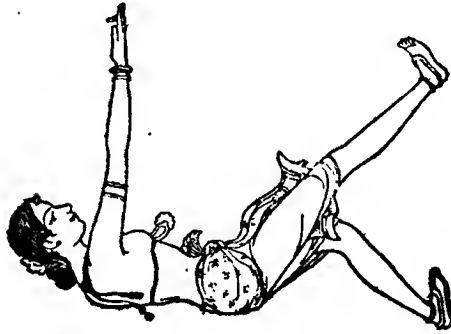
## Ādau LII



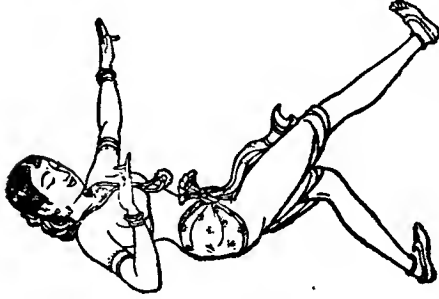
XXI. 1.  
te  
lt.



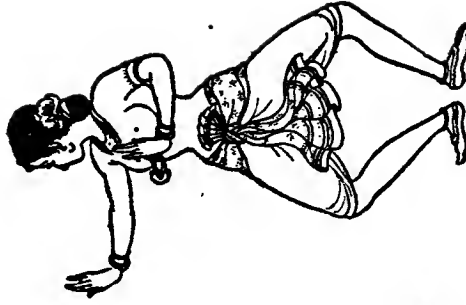
XXI. 1.  
te  
lt.



LI. 2.  
dhit  
rt. heel.  
(Body faces audience)



LI. 8.  
dhit  
lt.  
(Body faces audience)



LII. 1.  
te  
rt.

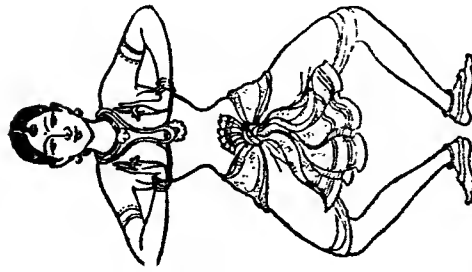
## ĀDAU LIII

This ādau is very much like the previous ādaus.

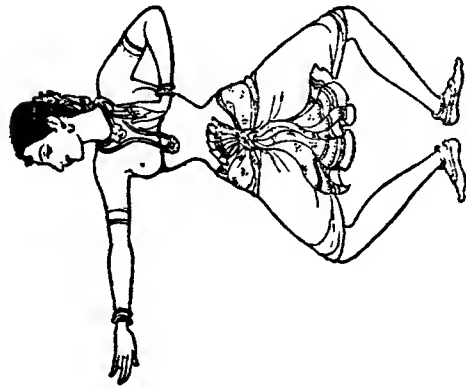
Bols : te, te, te, te/dhit dhīt te. ते ते ते । धित् धित् ते

- |               |   |
|---------------|---|
| On te, te,    | step with right and left feet alternately sending forward the right and left hand exactly as in ādau XXI, Fig. 1. |
| On te         | step with right foot and send the right hand to its side, keeping the left near the chest.                        |
| Dhit, dhīt te | is like the previous ādau, but the left hand is near the chest and not out in a semi-circle.                      |

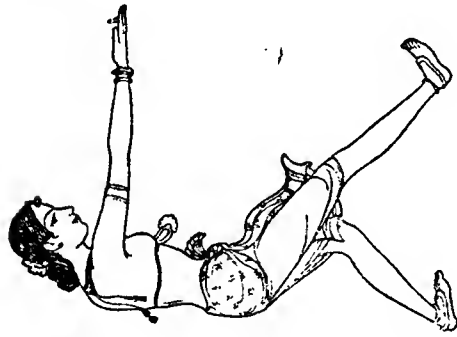
# Ādau LIII



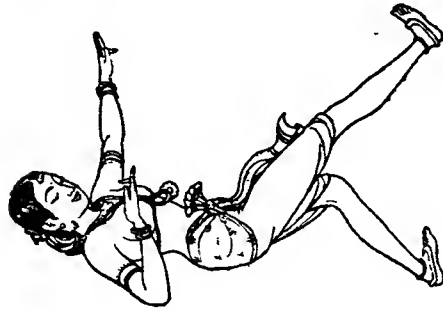
XXI. 1.  
te te  
rt. lt.



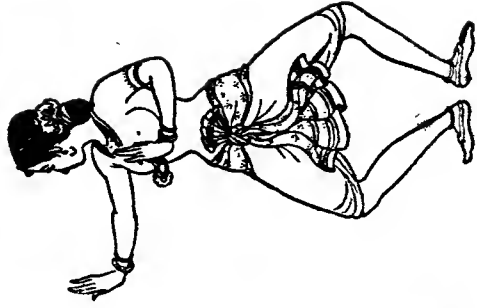
LIII. 1.  
te  
rt.



LI. 2.  
dhit  
rt, heel  
(Body faces audience)



LI. 3.  
dhit  
lt. heel  
(Body faces audience)



LII. 1.  
te  
rt.



# ĀDAU LIV

Bols : te, te, te, te. ते ते ते ते । ते ते ते ते

This ādau is a combination of ādaus XI and XVII done at a medium tempo.

On te

step with right foot, and change position of the hands from tripataṭā, to ardhapataṭā and the position of the left foot from tryāśra to añcita ; Fig. 1.

On te

aṅgaparyāya ; Fig. 2.

On te

step forward with the right foot and send forward the left hand ; Fig. 3.

on te

aṅgaparyāya ; Fig. 4.

on te

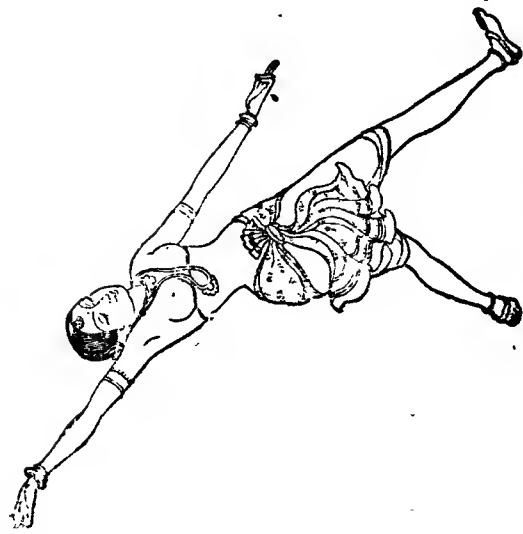
sit with back to audience, hamsavaktra hands near the chest ; Fig. 1, ādau XIV.

on te

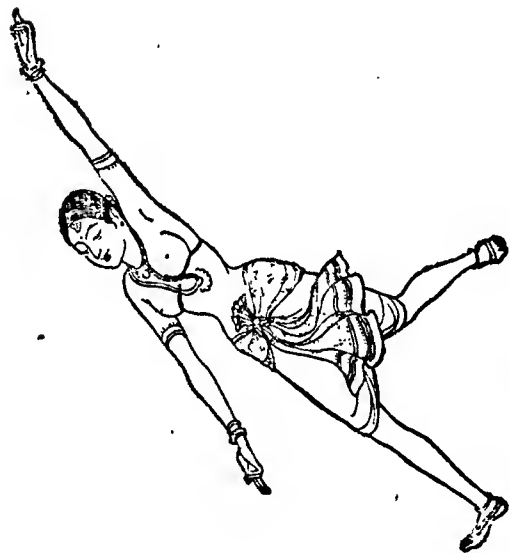
swing back the left leg ; Fig. 2, ādau XVII.

Lastly, on te te, rise, and turning the body, take up the final pose ; Fig. 2, Ex. II.

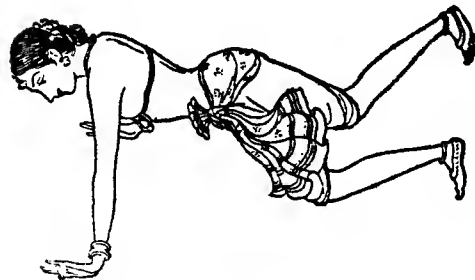
Aṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau.



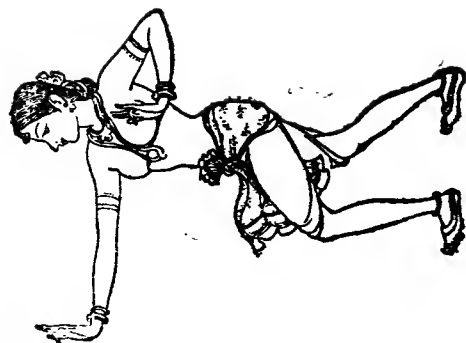
XI. 1.  
ते



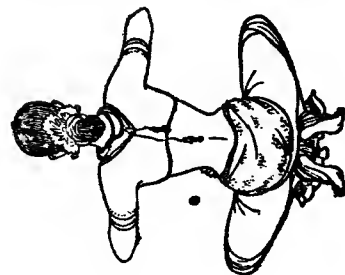
XI. 2.  
ते



XI. 3.  
ते  
(Body faces audience)



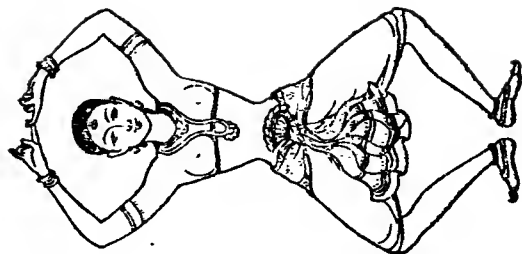
XI. 4.  
ते  
(Body faces audience)



XVI. 1.  
ते



XVII. 2.  
ते



Ex. II. 2.  
ते

## ĀDAU LV

Bols : te/ dhrit dhrit te.

All through this ādau one arm is in front of the body, with its elbow slightly bent, while the other does the movements.\*

On te            step with right foot tryāśra, keep the left uttāna alapadma hand near the chest as in Fig. 1.

On dhrit        step with right foot añcita, and send back the left hand behind the left shoulder watching it ; Fig. 2.

on dhrit        step with left foot, and continuing the course of the left arm, the hand is over the head ; Fig. 3.

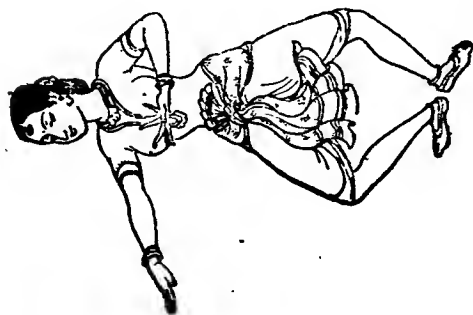
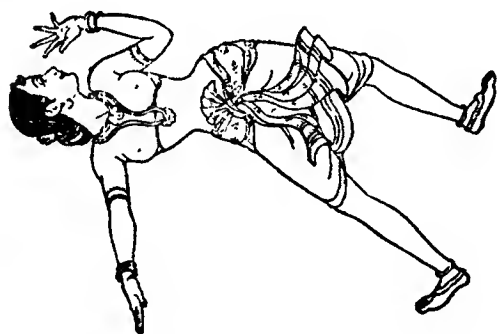
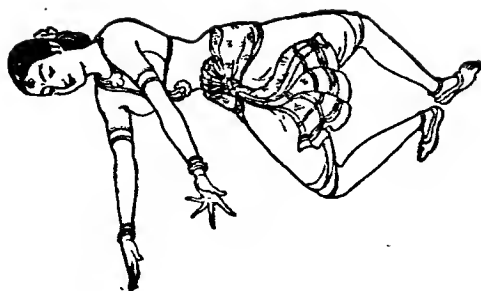
on te            step with right foot tryāśra and send the left uttāna alapadma hand in front of the body ; Fig. 4.

Āṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau.

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\* The dancer faces the audience all the time, and the left arm must be swung back, over the head and in front very smoothly.

## Adau LV

LV. 1.  
tēLV. 2.  
qhitLV. 3.  
qhitLV. 4.  
tē

### ĀDAU LVI

This ādau is very similar to the previous ādau, but the bols are te, te te/ dhrit dhrit te.

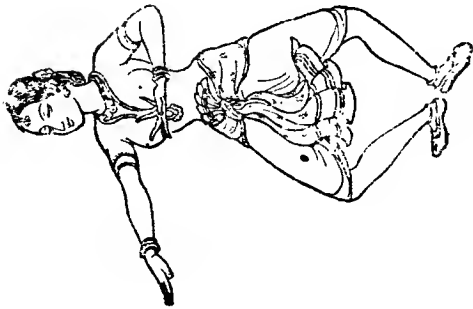
On the first three te step with alternate feet tryāsra, and make three rhythmic movements with the wrist of the hand in front of the body.

### ĀDAU LVII

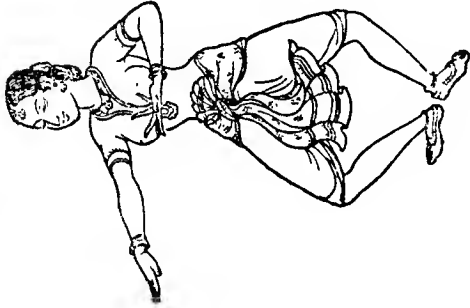
Bols : dhrit dhrit te.

This is an ādau for increasing speed.

Do ādaus LV and LII only dhrit dhrit te ; the movements first with the right foot then with the left, several times, each ādau.

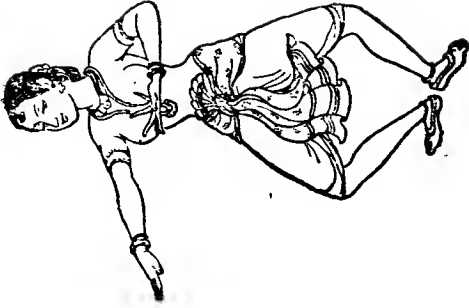


LV. 1.  
te

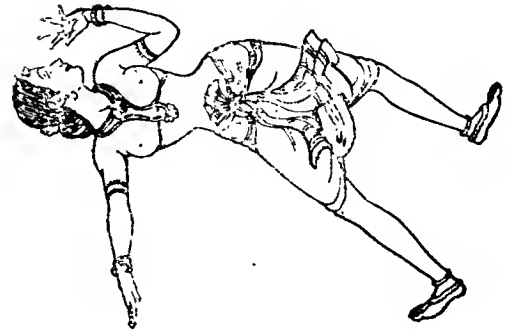


LV. 1.  
te

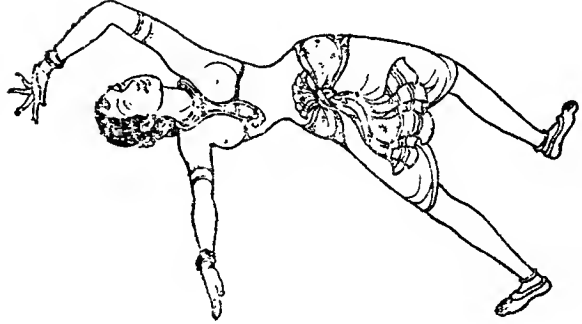
( 8 rhythmic movements of right wrist )



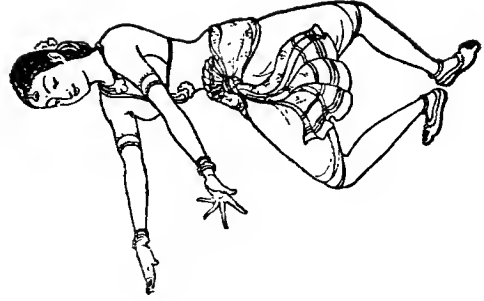
LV. 1.  
te



LV. 2.  
dhrit



LV. 3.  
dhrit

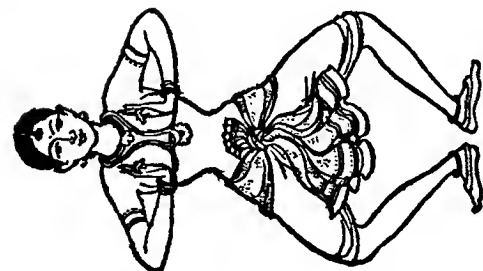


LV. 4.  
te

## ĀDAU LVIII

- Bols : te, te/dhit dhīt te/te tā. ते ते । धित् धित् ते । ते ते । ता
- On te                      jump in the sitting posture with the right side facing the audience, and at the same time send the arms in a large circular movement ( from the chest over the head, down, and finally back to near the chest in tripatākā hands facing each other,
- on te                      rise, stepping with the left foot tryāśra ; the position of the body exactly as in Fig. 1. ādau XXI, but the right side still facing the audience.
- On dhīt dhīt te        turning the body, at the same time make three firm steps ( right, left, right ) with tryāśra feet, and facing audience.
- On te                      jump with feet in agratāla, sending out both hands in uttāna alapadma ; Fig. 1 ( body faces audience ) ;
- on te                      lower the heels, and bring back the hands in haṃsavaktra to near the chest ;
- On tā                      step with right foot, and send out both arms in a semi-circle.

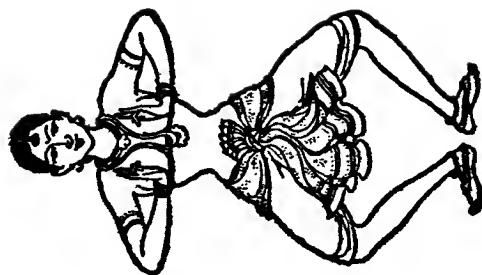
Āṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau.



XXI. 1.

to

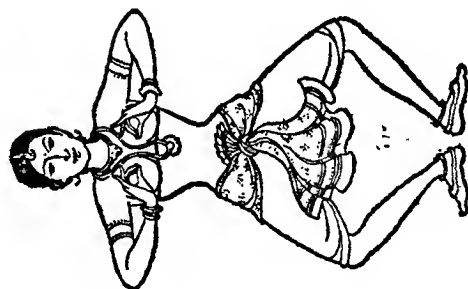
( rt. side faces audience )



XXI. 1.

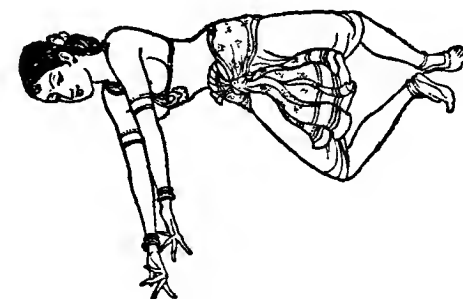
dhīt dhīt te

( body faces audience )



X. 1.

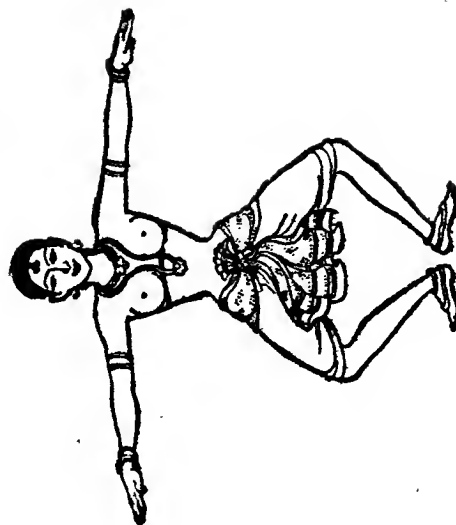
tā



LVIII. 1.

to

( body faces audience )



XII. 8.

tā



## ĀDAU LIX

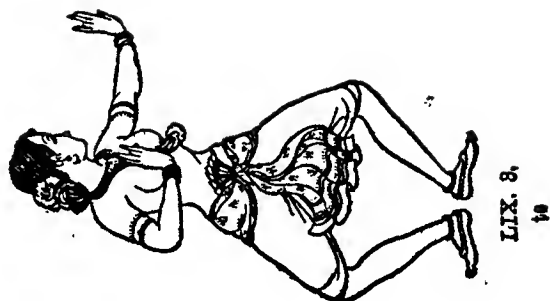
Bols : te, te/te te/dhit dhīt te. ते ते । ते ते । धिक् धित् ते

On te Jump in the sitting posture facing audience, the right alapaḍma hand near the chest, the left in a semi-circle ; Fig. 1.

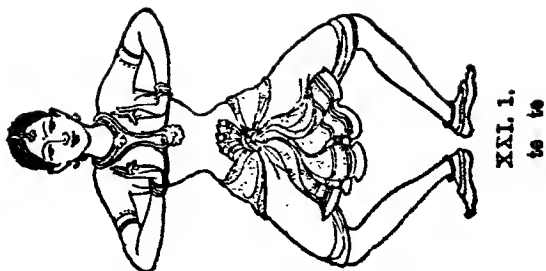
On te rise, swinging the left leg across the right thigh, and send out the right parāṇmukha hand to its side ; Fig. 2.  
on te, te two shorter steps with tryaśra feet (lt, rt) ; Fig. 1, ād. XXI.  
Dhit, dhīt te, lt. heel, right, left foot, sending out the left tripatākā hand in front, near the breast, and finally at the back as in Fig. 3. The right hand is in tripatākā near the chest on these three steps.

Āṅgaparyāya of the whole āḍau.

chit chit



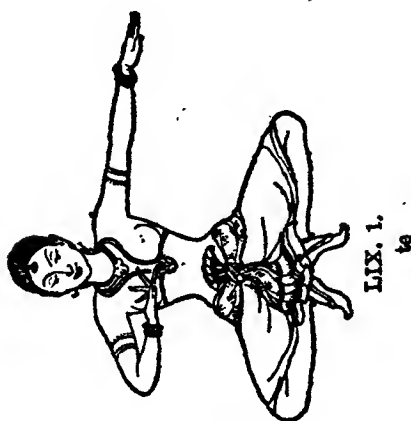
LIX. 8.  
to



XL. 1.  
to



LIX. 2.  
to



LIX. 1.  
to

## ĀDAU LX

**Bols :** teyun dattā/te yā. तैयुन् दत्ता । ते य

On teyun

jump in the sitting posture, looking at the palm of the right hand ; both hands tripatakā, and arms in a semi-circle, the elbows slightly bent ; Fig. 1.

On dattā

place the right kuñcita foot behind the left, the right knee touching the floor, and jump in this posture, change the position of the right hand to adhomukha ; Fig. 2. repeat these movements ; Figs. 1 and 2.

On te yā

On teyun,  
dattā/teyā

do āṅgaparyāya of these movements twice ; Figs. 3, 4, 3, 4, again with the right foot once ; Figs. 1 and 2.

On teyun dattā

jump with both feet, rising at the same time, and raising the right alapadma hand ; Fig. 5.

On yā

place the right leg across the left thigh, and change the right hand to hamsavaktra ; Fig. 6.

Do these last four steps with the left foot and hand in the same way to the bols teyun dattā/te yā ; Figs. 3, 4, 7, 8.

On teyun

jump in the sitting posture as in Fig. 1, Ex. I.

on dattā

send the right hand to the left, swinging the body to the left, exactly as in Ex. I, Fig. 2.

On te yā

repeat these movements ; Figs. 1 and 2, Ex. I.

Āṅgaparyāya of these movements twice to the bols teyun

dattā/teyā ; Figs. 1, 4, 1, 4, Ex. I.

Then on teyun jump in sitting posture, hands hamsavaktra near the chest ; Fig. 9.

On dattā

3

on te yā

On teyun

dattā/teyā

Then teyun

dattā/teyā

On te

On te

On te

Finally, on tā

rise, stretching the right leg to its side, right foot añcita, hands in alapadma, arms stretched, left up, right down; Fig. 10.

repeat these movements; Figs. 9 and 10.

aṅgaparyāya of these movements twice; Figs. 9, 11, 9, 11.

again Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4.

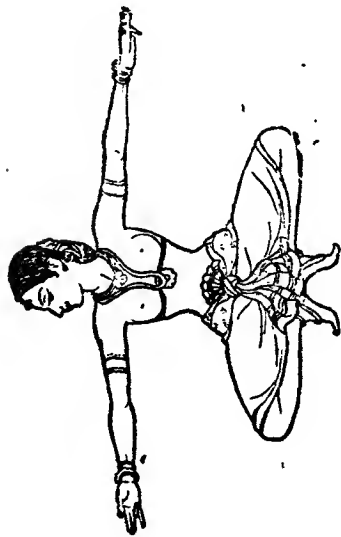
jump in sitting posture as in Fig. 12, right hand parāṇmukha.

jump in the same way, with the left foot behind the right; Fig. 13.

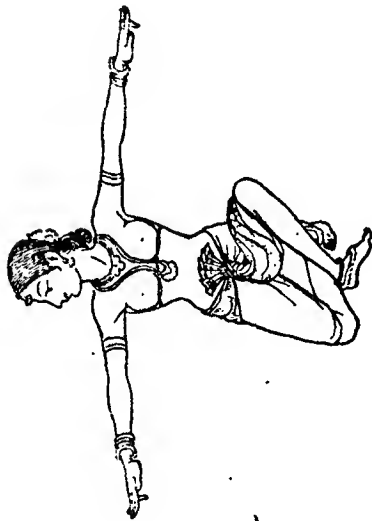
jump with both feet agratāla, hands down in alapadma; Fig. 14.

rise, placing the right leg across the left thigh, both hands haṃsavaktra near the chest; Fig. 15.

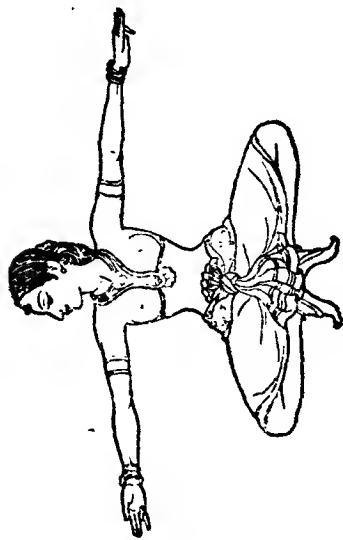
# Ādau LX



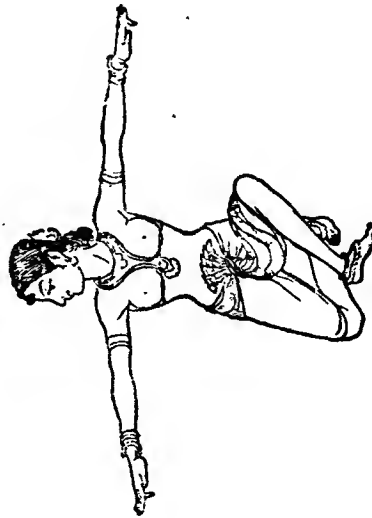
LX. 1.  
teyun



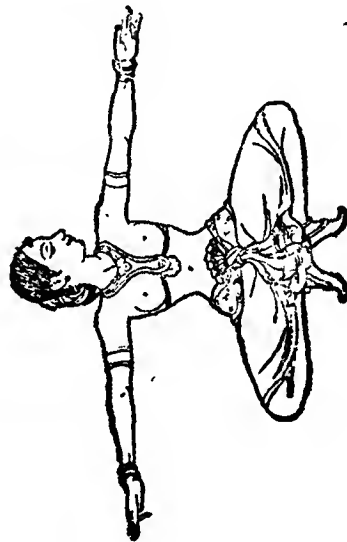
LX. 2.  
datid



LX. 1.  
te



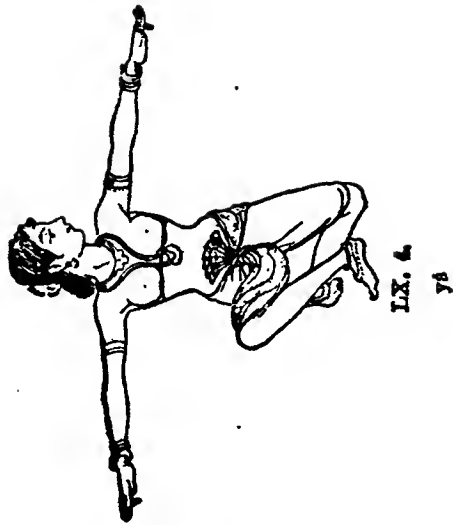
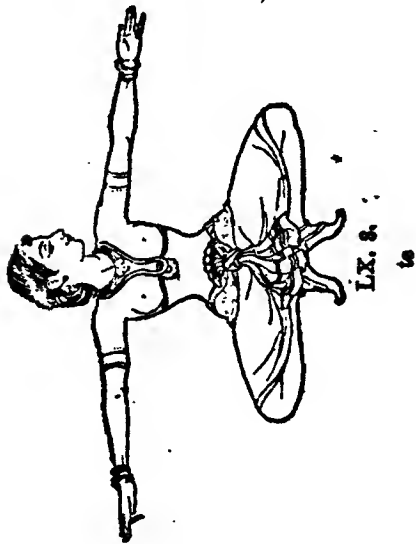
LX. 2.  
ya



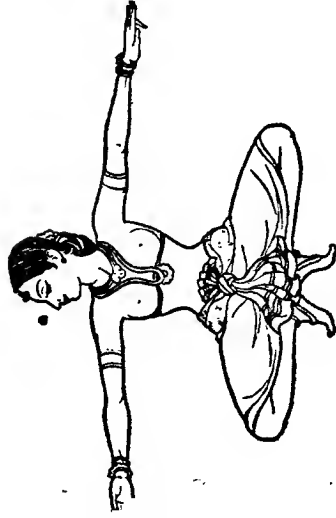
LX. 8.  
teyun



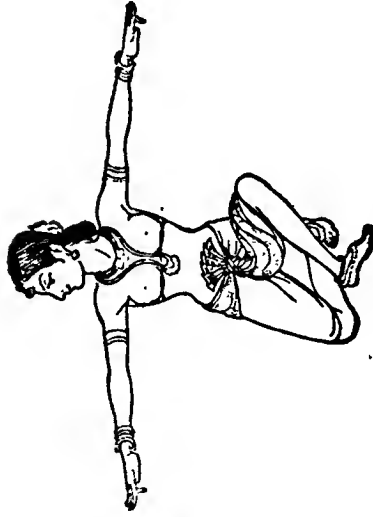
LX. 4.  
datid



# Cont. LX



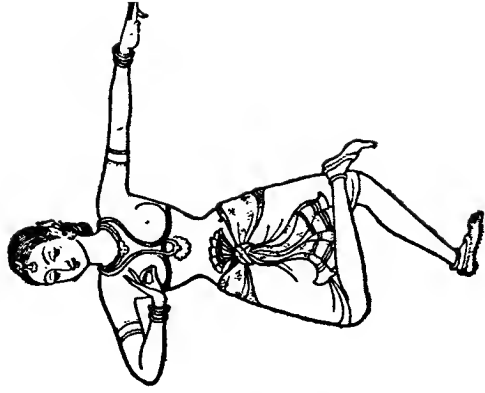
LX. 1.  
teyun



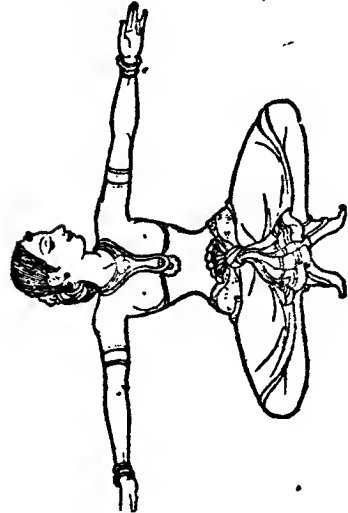
LX. 2.  
dattā



LX. 5.  
te



LX. 6.  
yā



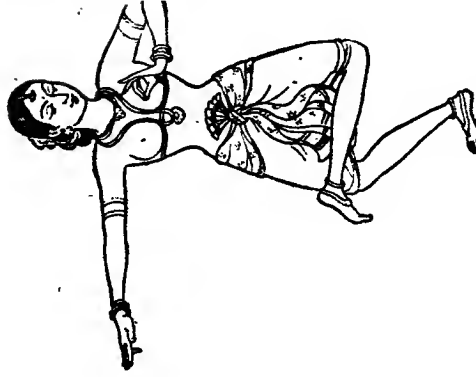
LX. 3.  
teyun



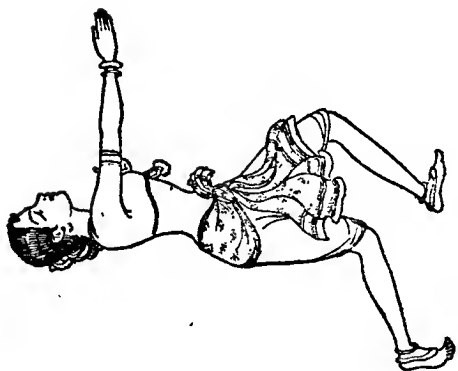
LX. 4.  
dattā



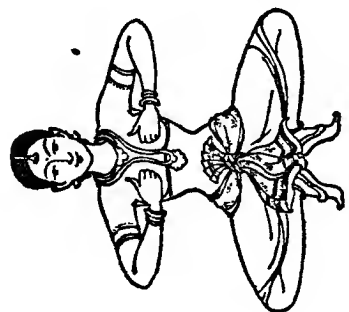
LX. 7.  
te



LX. 8.  
yā



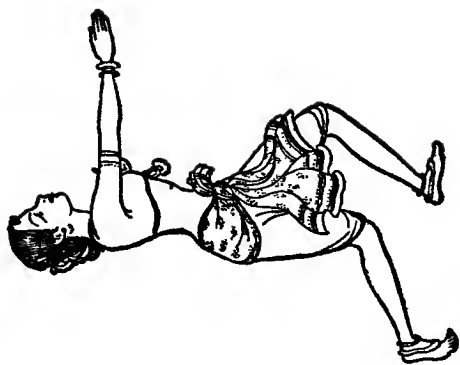
Ex. I. 2.  
dattā



Ex. I. 1.  
teyūn



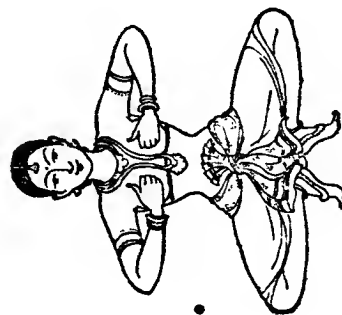
Ex. I. 1.  
te



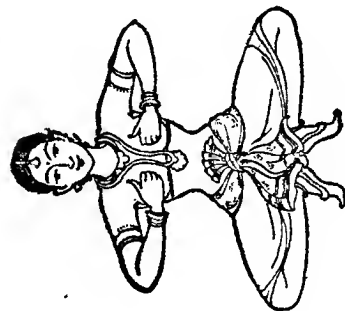
Ex. I. 2.  
yā



Ex. I. 4.  
dattā



Ex. I. 1.  
teyūn

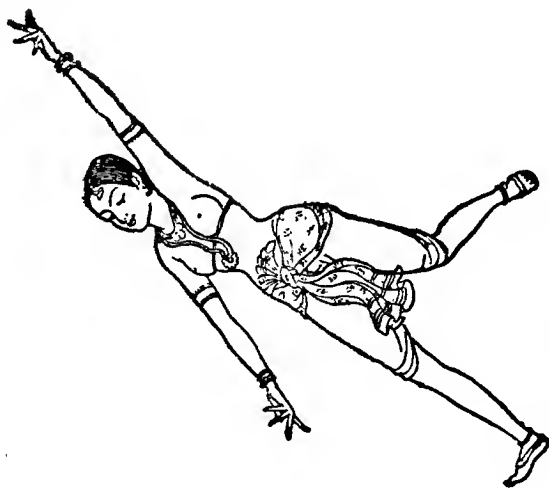


Ex. I. 1.  
te

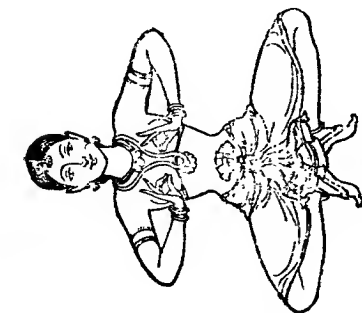


Ex. I. 4.  
yā

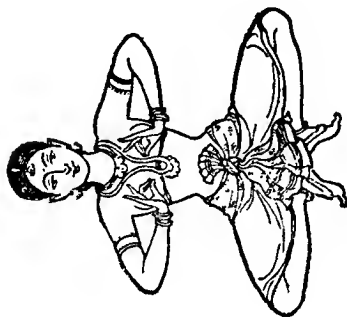




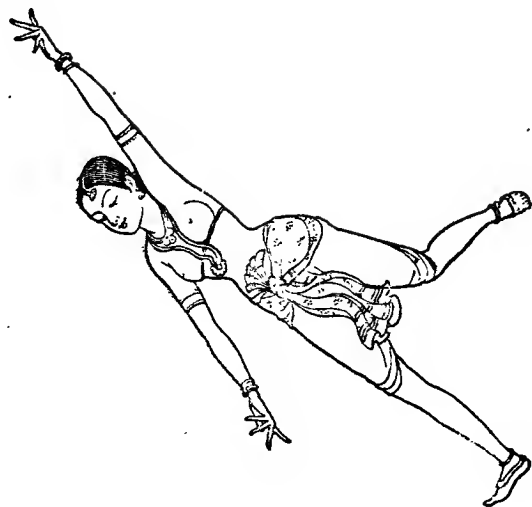
LX. 10.  
dattā



LX. 9.  
teyun



LX. 9.  
te



LX. 10.  
ya



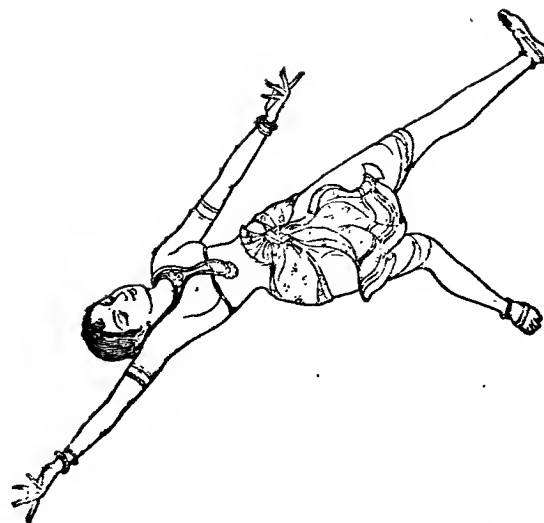
LX. 11.  
dattā



LX. 9.  
teyun

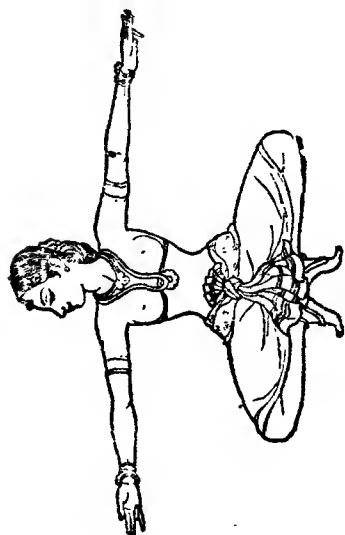


LX. 9.  
te

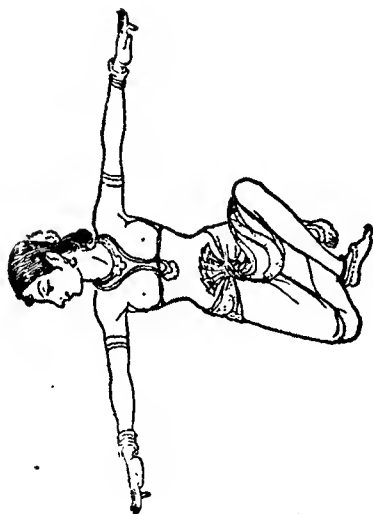


LX. 11.  
ya

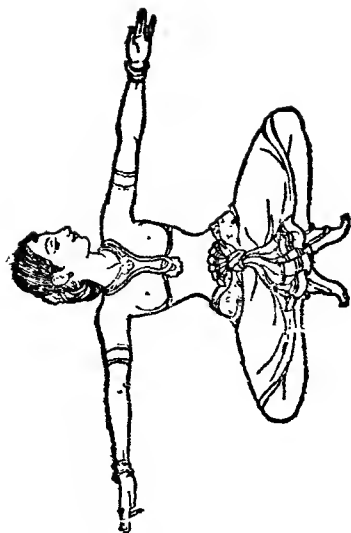
Cont. LX



LX. 1.  
tayun



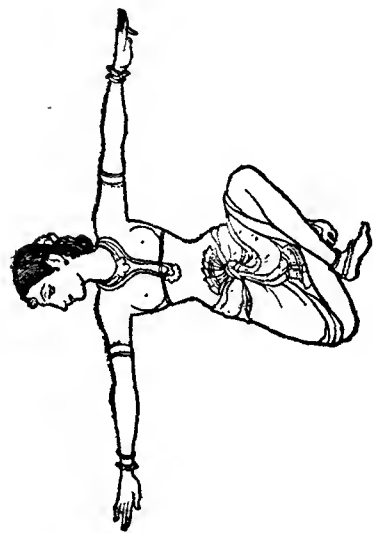
LX. 2.  
dattā



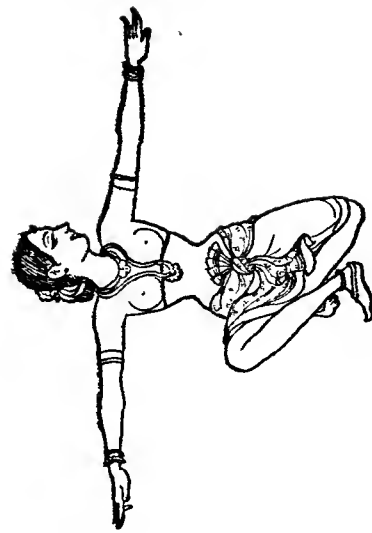
LX. 8.  
te



LX. 4.  
yā

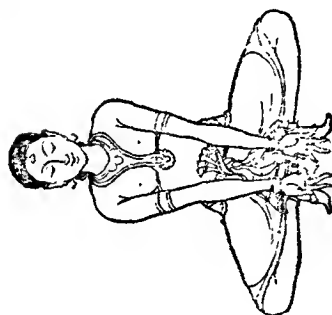


LX. 12.  
te



LX. 18.  
te

Cont. LX

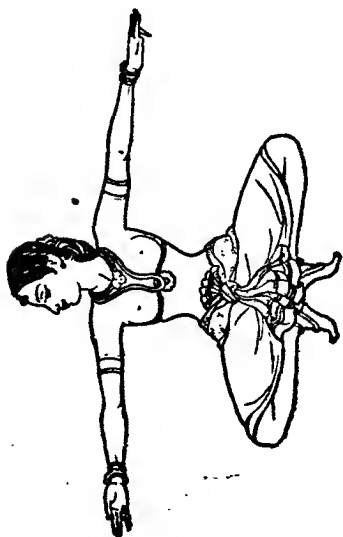


LX. 14.  
ta

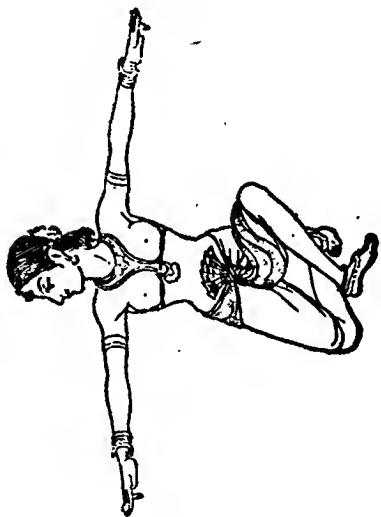


LX. 15.  
tñ

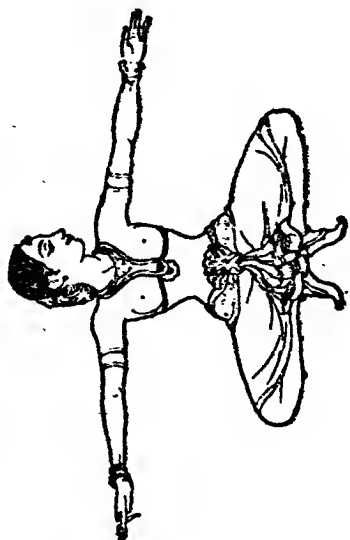
# Ādau LXI



LX. 1.  
teyun



LX. 2.  
dattā



LX. 3.  
teyun



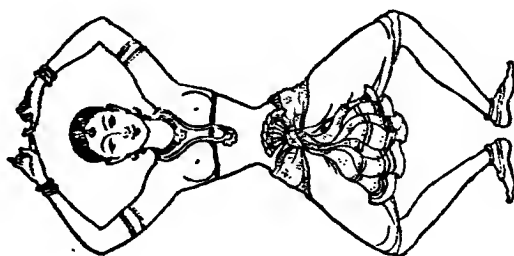
LX. 4.  
dattā



LXI. 1.  
teyun



LXI. 2.  
dattā



Ex. II. 2.  
teyun dattā

## ĀDAU LXI

Bols : teyun dattā/teyun dattā, with a slight pause after each dattā.

Do teyun dattā as in ādau LX, Figs. 1 and 2.

Teyun dattā  
on teyun

āṅgaparyāya ; Figs. 3 and 4.  
jump in the sitting posture, body turned to the left, right  
side facing the audience, the tripatākā hands stretched  
out obliquely in front towards the right ; Fig. 1.  
place both knees on the floor and turn the head away to  
the left as in Fig. 2.

teyun dattā

rise, turning the body again so that it faces the audience.  
Take up the final pose, tryaśra feet, and hands linked in  
svastika as in Fig. 2, Ex. II.

Āṅgaparyāya of the whole ādau.

## ĀDAU LXII

In this ādau jump with both feet in agraṭāla on every beat.

Bols : te, te, te, te.

On te

send out both hands alapaḍma to their sides as in Fig. 1,  
ādau XXXIV, jump very lightly,

on te

bring the hands back to the chest in hamsavaktra ; Fig. 1.

on te

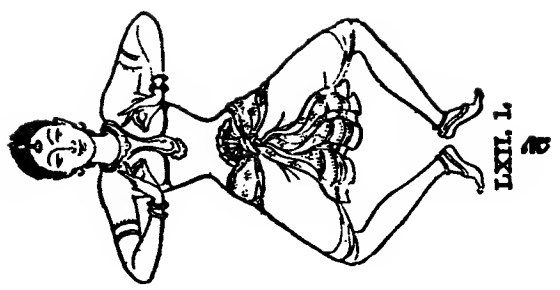
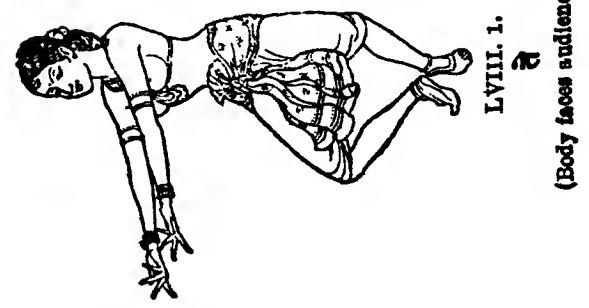
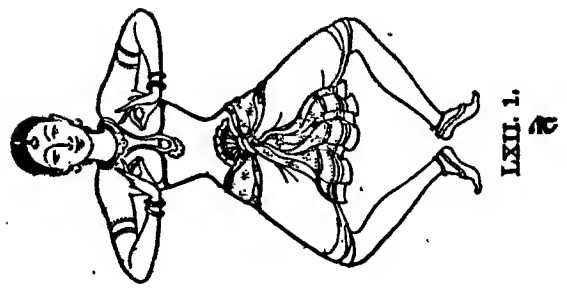
send out the hands alapaḍma in front of the body.

on te

bring the hands back to near the chest.

Body faces audience all the time.

Ādau LXII



## ĀDAU for JĀTISVARAM

Bols : Tai, tai/tai tā. तै तै । तै ता

On tai

step with right foot, and change the position of the right hand to parāṇmukha ; both arms are in a semi-circle as in the illustration, the only difference is the right hand should be parāṇmukha, and not adhomukha.

on tai

jump, both feet agratāla, and draw in the hands to near the chest as in ādau LXII.

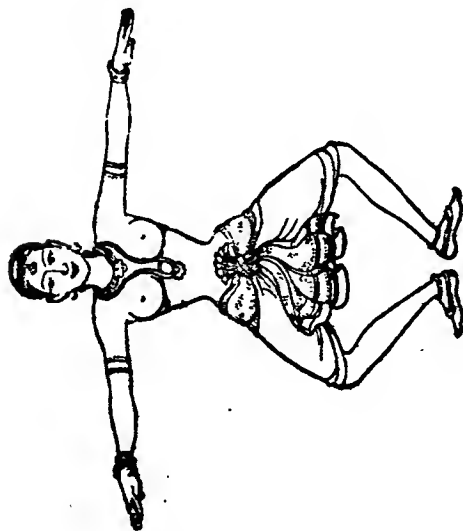
on tai

step with left foot tryāśra, and separate the hands by sending the arms out again in a semi-circle.

on tā

step with the right foot tryāśra.

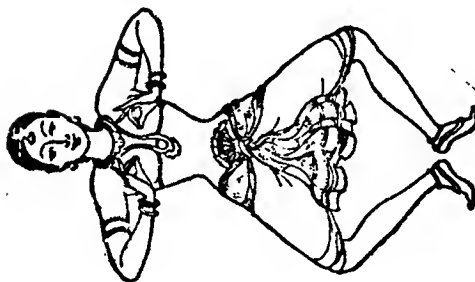
# Ādau for Jātisvaram



XII. 3.

tal

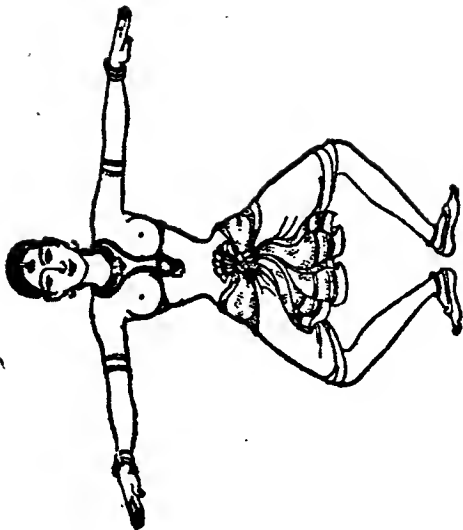
तै



LXII. 1.

tal

तै



XII. 3.

tal

तै



### Exercises for Speed

When movements are done at a fast tempo, each bol has an accompanying step.

For instance, ādaus done to the bols : tat, te dhā, are practised as follows : tat te dhā ā/dhit te dhā ā ( presto—prestissimo ).

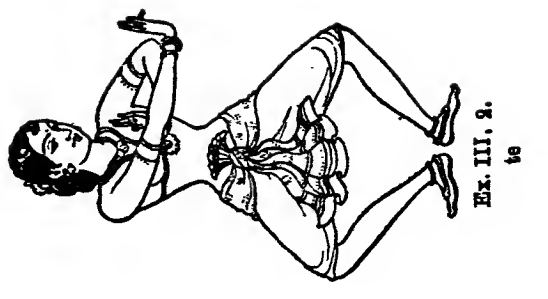
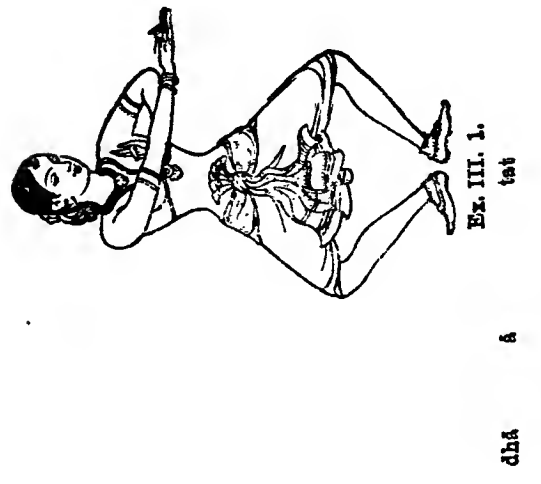
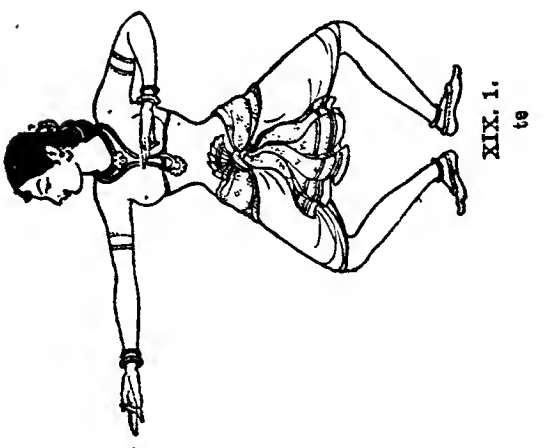
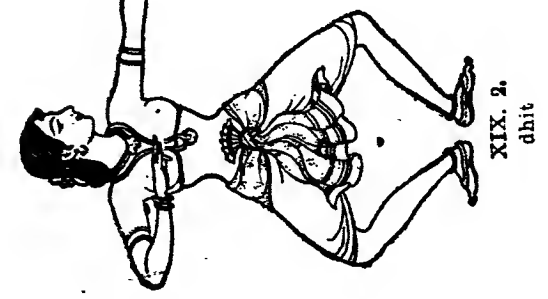
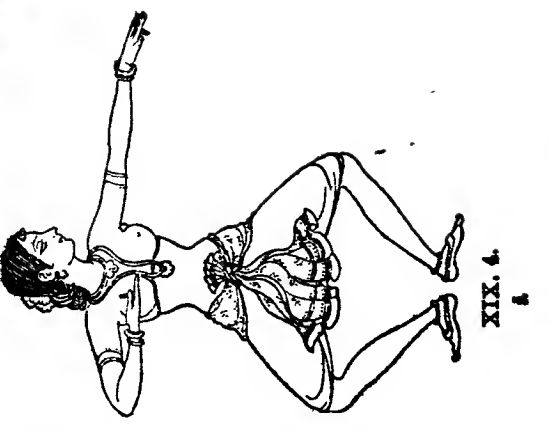
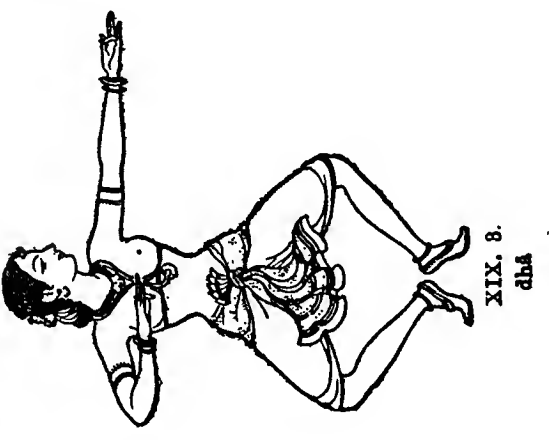
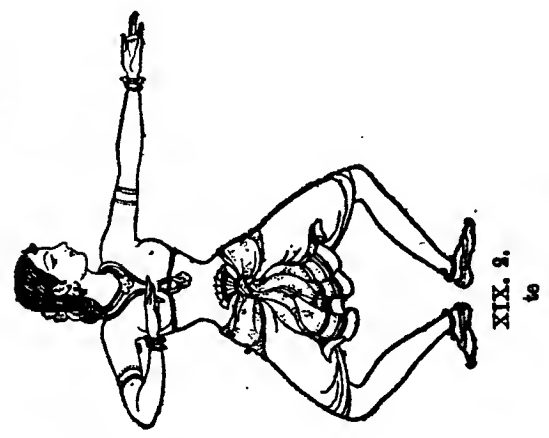
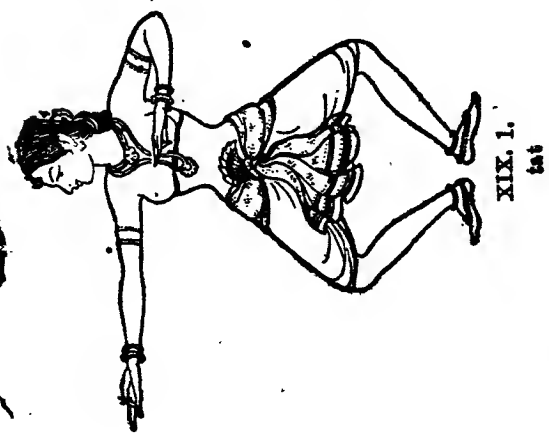
On tat                    step with the right foot, and send the right uttāna tripataṅkā hand to its side as in ādau XIX, Fig. 1.  
on te                    step with the left foot, and send the left hand to its side as in Fig. 2, ādau XIX.  
on dhā                    jump ; Fig. 3.  
on ā                    step with the right foot, and change the position of the hands to adhomukha ; Fig. 4.

Do aṅgaparyāya of all the above movements to the bols : dhit te dhā ā.

Then on tat            step with the right foot, and send the uttāna tripataṅkā hand obliquely in front of the body as in Fig. 1.  
on te                    step with the left foot, and change the position of the hand to parāṇmukha ; Fig. 2.  
on dhā                    jump ; Fig. 3.  
on ā                    step with the right foot and change the position of the hands to uttāna.

Aṅgaparyāya of these movements to the bols : dhit te dhā ā.

Exercises for Speed





Ex. III. 3.  
dhā



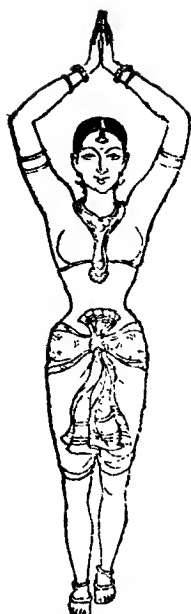
Ex. III. 1.  
ā

In the same way practise ādaus XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, to the bols : tat te dhā ā/dhit te dhā ā ; gradually faster.

Ādaus XII, XIII, XIV, XV, are practised without the jump ; instead of the jump, step quickly with the foot which is añcita.

Ādaus XVIII may be practised to the bols ; tat dhe dhā ā/tai tai/dhit dhit te.

In all these exercises, the dancer should increase her speed very gradually, after all the movements are thoroughly mastered with grace and precision, just as a musician studies a difficult passage, by playing the notes several times over and over again.



Al. 1.

Then with her arms out in a semi-circle (the elbows slightly bent) she does rhythmic movements with her neck, eyebrows, shoulders, forearms, first at a slow tempo, then at a medium tempo.

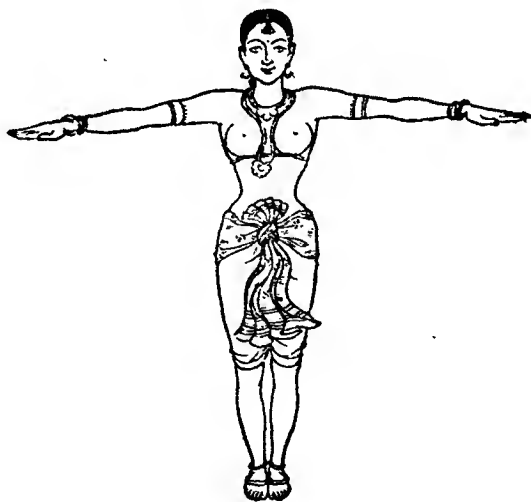
Next the same rhythmic movements are done in a sitting posture, followed by more rhythmic movements of the hands.

After this, the dancer does the whole of ādaux LX at a fast speed (presto), then ādaux XIX and XX very slowly (adagio), then ādaux XIX and XXII very fast, ādaux XLVI slow, ādaux XLVI fast, ādaux XLIV fast, ādaux LI, LII, LIII at a medium tempo (moderato). Lastly, she recedes doing a number of small steps with sama (pada) steps, making three large circles of the arms (down and up above the head), joins the hands above the head as in Fig. 1,

When all the ādaux are mastered by the pupil, she learns the various items of Bhārata Nāṭya which are Alarippu, Jāṭisvara, Śabdam, Svarajāti, Varṇam, Jāvali, Padam and Śloka. These are composed of certain themes, combined with movements of the ādaux, and set to a particular timing and melody.

For instance, there are two types of Alarippu, one in tisrajāti tāla, and the other in miśrajāti. Both have practically the same movements with slight variations in the rhythm. The Alarippu is an invocative dance done at the beginning of a Bhārata Nāṭyam performance.

The dancer stands with her hands joined above her head and does a few movements with her neck and eyebrows at a slow tempo.



Al. 2.

and ends the dance by standing with her legs and feet samapada as in Fig. 2.

The second item, Jātisvarām, is a musical composition to the accompaniment of which the dancer does appropriate co-ordinating movements of the neck, head, and hands and feet. The tempo is usually slow,

The third item, Śabdam, is a Telugu song addressed to Lord Kṛṣṇa, and which generally ends with the words 'Salutation to Thee'. The words of the song are interpreted by mūdras ( hand poses ) and facial expression and in between the verses, the dancer does a number of movements from the various ādaus to suit the particular theme.

The Śabdam is followed by Svarajāti, a musical composition rendered in gesture language with several dance cadences ; the Svarajāti is one of the most elaborate dance items, and embodies many beautiful dance preludes, interludes and finales.

Then the Varṇam begins ; this is a long item accompanied by a Telugu song in praise of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Each verse is sung several times, and the dancer uses different mūdras each time, followed by movements of the ādaus, done adagio, moderato and presto.

After the Varṇam the Jāvali is danced ; it is an erotic poem sung and danced in praise of certain characters, and also contains dance sequences.

The Padam is a very popular item, and often the dancer includes two or three types of Padam in her programme, and there is a song mostly about Pārvatī's love for Śiva. Like the other items it includes several ādaus.

Next comes the Tillānā, the most complicated and strenuous item. It is essentially feminine in form, and requires a complete mastery of the technique, the ādaus being done mostly presto. At the same time special attention must be paid to the movements of the neck, eyebrows and eyes.

Lastly, a Sanskrit śloka is sung, and accompanied by mūdras. It is usually about the Greatness of Lord Kṛṣṇa.

When the dancer sings, her facial expression plays a prominent part, as she hardly makes any movements with her legs, which are 'sama'. The facial expression consists of appropriate movements of the head, eyes, eyebrows, eyelids, eyeballs, lips and neck. These are taught by the

Guru, and are also described in the various Sanskrit treatises on dance and drama.

The musical accompaniment includes a mṛdaṅg (drum), a violin, or any string instrument and a singer who sings, and beats the bols with a small stick.

The Tanjore costume consists of long, loose trousers, made of rich brocade, over which a nine yards sari is draped. The pleats of the sari are taken between the legs ; a brocade sash tied round the waist hangs loosely in front. The corsage is also made of some rich material. The dancer wears numerous ornaments such as earrings, three noserings, bangles, hair ornaments and a gold belt. In the illustrations of the āḍaus, however, the author wore a light costume in order to show all movements clearly.

\*

\*

\*

#### Words for Śabdaṃ ( Telugu )

Kṛiṣṇa, how could you touch the body of that damsel, calling her in haste ? Is that fair ?

I trust you implicitly. I bow to you, and entreat you ; is it right that you should dishonour me ?

I pray to you thinking you to be a Great Person. I can not bear the pangs of this love for you now.

Why these wiles ? Gopala, even now you can save me, and I bow to you.

\*

#### Words for Padaṃ ( Telugu )

Who is she that has snatched away my beloved who gave his love to me ?

The son of Śrī Vaidyanātha, worshipped by Mādhava, has not yet come, oh friend.

\*

#### Words of an Aṣṭapadi from the Gīta Govinda ( Sanskrit )

Get thee, gone, oh Mādhava. Get thee gone, oh Keśava. Utter not thy deceitful excuses,

Follow her, Lotus eyed one, who remedied your distress.  
Eyes burdened with love, red and weary with night long vigil  
proclaim thy surfeit of dalliance. Go away Kṛiṣṇa.

\*

Words of a Śloka ( Sanskrit )

Within her house, seeing the thief Kṛiṣṇa,  
One Gopī locked the door and went to Kṛiṣṇa's mother,  
But seeing Him there also tied to a mortar with a rope,  
She was struck with wonder.

Illustrated articles destined for this Volume could not be included on account of technical difficulties. They will be published, together with their Plates, in Vol. XV of the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.





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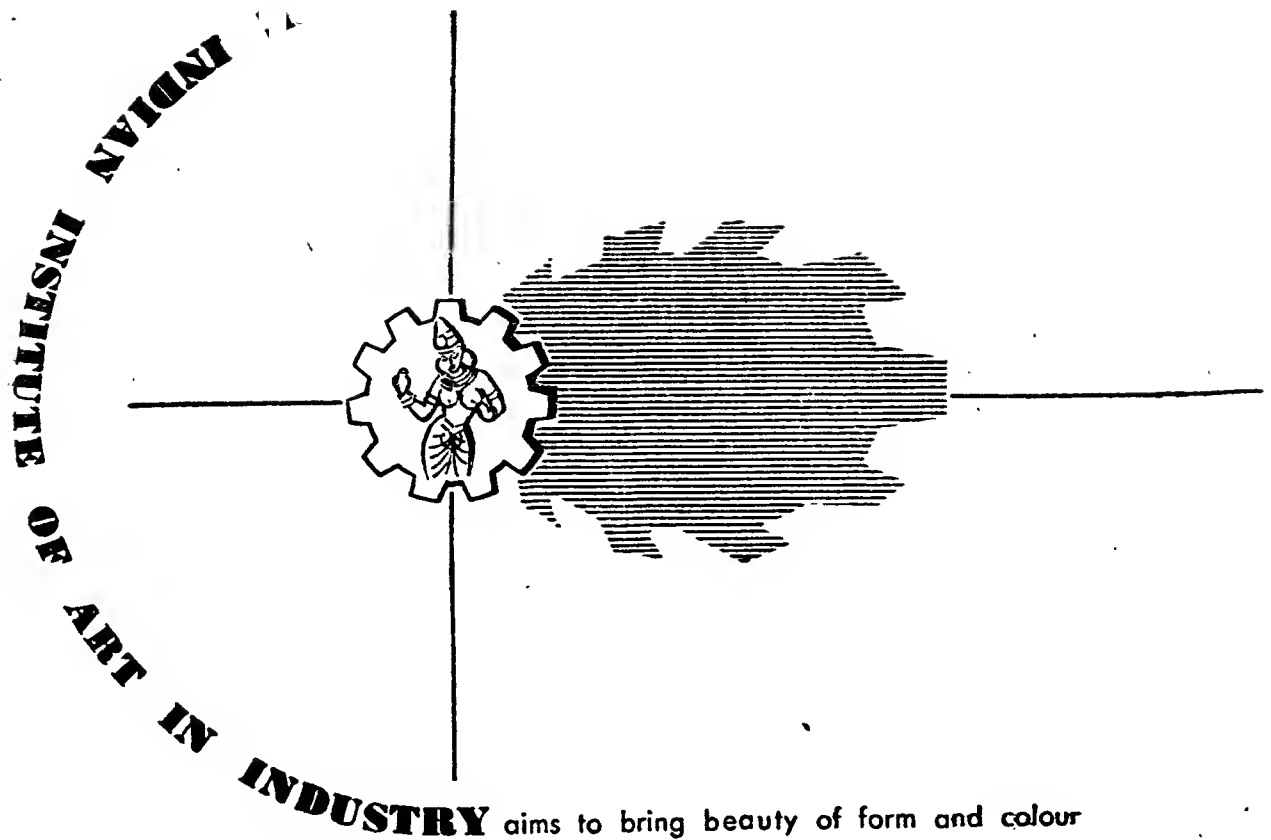
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